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#### THE CLERKENWELL EXPLOSION.

AT the expense of several lives, and of terrible suffering to many innocent persons, the Clerkenwell explosion will produce a wholesome effect. It is to be hoped that soiety has at length heard the last of the immoral sophsociety has at length heard the last of the immoral sophisms by which anarchists and their patrons or dupes have sught to procure immunity for crime. Ill-trained intellects and dull imaginations require to be startled into the perception of even obvious truths, and the impudent pertinacity of hish sedition had apparently raised a doubt in the minds of some peaceable and well-meaning persons whether the murder of a Manchester policeman was an act of questionable moral character. The criminality of a conspiracy againt society has now been written in still more legible characters; and it may be doubted whether even an American politician or an Irish Roman Catholic archbishop will venture to elevate or an Irish Roman Catholic archbishop will venture to elevate the Clerkenwell murderers into the rank of heroes and martyrs. The perpetrators of the atrocity must have intended to sacrifice innocent life to their immediate object, and although to sacrifice innocent life to their immediate object, and atthough they were disappointed in their attempt to rescue the prisoners, the explosion produced the effect which was undoubtedly con-templated. The Fenians and their advocates have repeatedly claimed a right to assassinate public functionaries and officers of the law who might impede the accomplishment of their of the law who might impede the accomplishment of their designs; and more respectable apologists, including Lord Hobert, have been misled by the shallow fallacy of identifying violence employed for political purposes with the legitimate use of force in regular war. The recent gunpowder plot will not perhaps convert philanthropic sophists, but it will effectually estrange the herd of their disciples. Plain men will not be curious to examine the alleged grounds of a theory will not be curious to examine the alleged grounds of a theory which involves results so astounding; yet it is important that the principles which have been illustrated at Clerkenwell should be understood in less extreme applications. The crimes which the Reform League applauded, and which Archbishop M'HALE has publicly approved, were precisely similar in kind to the Clerkenwell outrage, although they were less atrocious in degree. Allen and his accomplices had resolved to kill any effect of the law who might write to support the property. officer of the law who might refuse to surrender his prisoners, and in pursuance of their design they deliberately put BRETT to death. The friends of BURKE, with equal disregard of all considerations beyond the release of their associate, committed several simultaneous murders which happened to be indispensible to their purpose. If they are brought to justice, they will have precisely the same right to the honours of martyrdom with the Manchester criminals; nor can it be doubted that they were encouraged by the sympathy which the dis-affected Irish have exhibited for the murderers of BRETT. The managers of the sham funeral processions are accessories before the fact to the Clerkenwell slaughter, and the twaddlers and pedants who censured the former vindication of the law are not guiltless of a crime which is a reduction of their decrine to its ultimate consequences. The extravagant and wanton outrages which have since been committed in different parts of London are probably intended to aggravate the general alarm, and to distract the attention of the police. It is cer-tain, however, that a reckless challenge to the moral sense of the whole community will prove to be as much a blunder as

A few years, or even a few months, ago it might have been supposed that isolated acts of violence committed in the midst of a peaceable society could not by the most perverse ingenuity be confused with the necessary incidents of war. The Americans who censure the execution of ALLEN were not imbecile enough who consure the execution of ALLEN were not impecte enough to allow to their own enemies, even during the continuance of a great war, the license which they claim for Fenian rebels. When partisans of the Confederate cause who were accused of planning arson and plunder in the Northern cities pleaded a commission from their own Government, it was reasonably answered that no public authority could justify or excuse out-

rages perpetrated at a distance from the seat of war. The assassination of Mr. Lincoln was as little an act of war as the crime of Firschi or the plot of Orsini. A belligerent gives notice of his intention to use all the recognised instruments of destruction, exposing himself at the same time to the retaliatory or the anticipative use of force; but the Manchester and Clerkenwell criminals enjoyed absolute immunity from violence, and the full protection of English law, while they were maturing their designs against the community in which they lived. They would have been equally punishable, though perhaps in some degree less culpable, if Ireland had at the time been engaged in open war with the English Government. If a sentinel is shot by a prisoner of war in an attempt to make his escape, no tribunal would listen rages perpetrated at a distance from the seat of war. The war in an attempt to make his escape, no tribunal would listen to a claim of impunity on the ground that life had been taken in a warlike operation. It is difficult to reason up to the instinctive abhorrence excited by the Clerkenwell explosion, but it may be well not to lose the opportunity of calling attention to the perversity of those who excuse murder when

it partakes of the nature of rebellion.

In the dispassionate processes of English justice there is fortunately no risk of irregular or exaggerated vengeance.

The vitest criminal cannot be convicted of any crime worse The vilest criminal cannot be convicted of any crime worse than murder, or sentenced to any but the ordinary punishment; and the perpetrators of the Clerkenwell outrage will profit by all the opportunities of defence and escape which are provided by English law, while their accomplices are denouncing the tyranny of the Government. Unless it can be clearly proved, as it may be reasonably conjectured, that the prisoners in the House of Determine were rejected, they are the held. House of Detention were privy to the plot, they will not be held legally responsible for the crime of their friends and associates; yet it is well that the moral guilt of the deed should be thoroughly understood. The Fenians within or without the thoroughly understood. The Fenians within or without the prison thought that the rescue of two ringleaders of the conspiracy was an object sufficiently important to overbalance the suffering inflicted on the numerous victims of the explosion. If BURKE and CASEY, who had been recently and constantly in the company of the woman JUSTICE, knew of the intention of their confederates, they must have resolved to secure their own escape by participation in wholesale murder. The crime would not have been greater if they had cut the throats of the women and children who have been maimed or killed, and indeed it would scarcely have been more shocking; yet these, and such as these, are the leaders to whom the government of Ireland would be transferred if the power of England were overthrown by internal insurrection or by foreign aid. That the liberty of Kelly and Deasy was worth more than the life of Brett, that the rescue of Burke and Casey was not too dearly purchased by the death or mutilation of forty men, women, dearly purchased by the death or mutilation of forty men, women, and children, are doctrines proudly proclaimed by the managers of the Fenian funeral processions, and by the Christian Brothers who allow or encourage their pupils to take part in the scandalous ceremonial. It is impossible to distinguish between the two successive acts of assassination, although the explosion of a barrel of gunpowder produces more sweeping effects than the discharge of the barrel of a revolver. The vigour of the Fenian convenience in the convention and expensive are a single desiration and expensive an conspirators in the conception and execution of isolated crimes forms a remarkable contrast to the feebleness which they displayed in the abortive attempt at insurrection in Ireland. The prisoners who were taken by the Irish police obtained a commutation of their sentences on the ground that the rebellion had been suppressed almost without bloodshed, but the Clerkenwell casualties exceed in number and in their serious character all the losses which were suffered either by the insurgents or by the defenders of order.

If the Government henceforth acts with vigour and consistency against the avowed enemies of the country, the community at large will unanimously support the vindication of the law. English demagogues at least will be afraid to express their sympathy for promoters of sedition who are bolder and more practical than themselves. The long-continued

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prevalence of order in England, combined with unbounded political and personal liberty, has naturally produced a laxity of opinion which leads to culpable toleration of treasonable practices. Mere grumblers who have no deliberate purpose of disturbing existing institutions ally themselves too readily with revolutionary conspirators for the idle purpose of annoying the Government or the ruling classes. The Fenians have the merit of going directly to their object, and of revealing to careless politicians the alternative which must be substituted for the supremacy of law. If Mr. Bealles ventured to object to promiscuous attempts at arson, even his colleagues would be afraid to censure the timidity or lukewarmness of their leader. The assassin exercises discrimination in the selection of victims who, if they are not personally unpopular, are perhaps official guardians of the public peace; but fire and gunpowder pay no respect to persons, or to the nature of the property which may be destroyed. When all classes of society thoroughly understand the issue raised at Manchester and Clerkenwell, there is no doubt that the supporters of order will be too strong for their antagonists. Even in Ireland a large portion of the community disapproves of the crimes and of the insolence of the rebellious faction; and English understandings will not be embarrassed by any excess of sympathy for Americanized Irish intruders. The opinions which will be expressed when the Clerkenwell atrocity is reported in the United States will be awaited with some degree of curiosity. Hitherto the Republican and Democratic leaders have competed with one another in expressions of goodwill to the cause of the Fenians, but perhaps here and there an American politician may venture to disapprove of the latest expression of anarchical malignity. Political animosity to this country may possibly, in some instances, stop short of the conclusion that the real or imaginary wrongs of Ireland furnish an excuse for wholesale murder perpetrated in the heart of Eng

#### NATURALIZATION IN THE UNITED STATES.

THE text of the President's Message places in a new light his views and proposals as to naturalization. Atlantic Telegraph—which, when it does not convey mere figures, either brings pure fictions, or, at best, distorted truths from America—just forwarded enough of what the Pre-SIDENT said to make it supposed that he was urging Congress to pass a law solely against England. Now that we know what he really said, we can see that he was advised by some one who knew something of the history of a very difficult question. The occasion which prompts him to urge on Congress the expediency of immediate action has nothing to do with England. It is the configuration of the confi with England. It is the new Constitution of Germany that prompts him to take up the subject. Although more than half a century ago the British theory of allegiance caused trouble between the two nations, and even led to a war, yet there has been no controversy of any importance for a very long time, between England and the United States, as to naturalization. On the other hand, there has been an unending and perpetual controversy between the United States and many of the German States on the subject. The subjects of German princes went to America, and after having settled there and registered themselves as American citizens and made the United States their home, came back, as all settlers are so fond of doing, to see their friends in the old Immediately they were pounced on as conscripts, hurried off to drill, and made to serve, to the ruin of their American families and fortunes, in the ridiculous army of some petty Grand Duke. The Americans have long protested against this; but they have protested in vain. For, in the first place, the returning exiles ran a risk which the local law clearly imposed on them, and were looked on as guilty and faithless creatures for daring to take to alien soil bodies that might have been made food for powder at home; and, in the next place, the United States had no possible means of getting at the small German States. If Wurtemberg does wrong, how is Washington to punish it? And although the law of Prussia is the same as that of the minor States, yet it must be remembered that it is almost entirely from the small States that the German emigrants have gone to the United States. Now things are changed; and the question can be raised with some prospect of bringing it to a successful issue, not only because the Confederation of North Germany is a great and, as the President politely remarks, a liberal State, but also because it has a long and accessible seaboard, and a growing mercantile marine. There is some use in arguing a point with a nation which has ships that may be seized, and harbours that may be blockaded

or shelled. But then, as the President or his legal advisers see, the general question is a very wide and difficult one. Granting that the old English theory of allegiance is now untenable, what theory ought to be substituted? As the President says, it is by American authority and American decisions that the English theory is in a great degree supported. Clearly the United States themselves have no consistent, intelligible, consecutive theory which, and which alone, they are prepared to uphold. They must therefore begin by setting their own house in order, and examining in all its bearings the law of naturalization which they are prepared to adopt. When they have done this, it will be time enough for them to ask other nations to take the same view.

The old English theory was that every one born in the King's allegiance was his subject for life, and that no one else The consequences were not felt so long as Englishmen seldom left England and foreigners seldom came here; but directly nations began to mix, all kinds of difficulties arose. The child of a foreigner born in England was an Englishman to the day of his death; the child of an English. man born abroad was a foreigner to the day of his death, while it was only by the special exercise of the prerogative of the Crown that a foreigner could have here any of the rights of an English subject. It became evident that this theory would not suit modern life altogether. It was at once too broad and too narrow. It included among Englishmen persons who in everything except the mere accident of birth were foreigners, who were treated as citizens by foreign States, spent their lives abroad, and fought in foreign armies. It excluded from among Englishmen persons whose relations were entirely English, who passed their lives in England, and were devoted adherents of the English Crown. This was absurd; but those who had the making of English law were not disposed to remedy the absurdity altogether. They were willing to extend, but not to curtail, the area of English citizenship. That as many persons as possible should be English they conceived to be the best conceivable thing, both for England and the persons themselves. They therefore by degrees extended English citizenship to those born abroad First, the children and then the grandohildren of British subjects residing abroad were declared to be English citizens. But the theory that all persons born in England were English for ever still remained. It was allowed to lie dormant, or it was called into activity whenever it seemed advisable. our struggle with France we did not like our sailors withdrawing to America; and we fought the United States rather than let them go. But recently, when protecting all British subjects in the United States was hard work, we let those who had chosen to naturalize themselves abide by their choice, and made no effort to save them from conscription in the ranks of the Federal army. At no time of modern history should we ever have dreamt of treating as a traitor a French soldier who merely happened to have been born at Dover, and was then taken as an infant to Calais. The theory was always known to be too big for the facts, but we The theory have allowed it to linger on because no particular occasion for altering it has arisen. It must be remembered that for the most part we have had to deal with cases where what was claimed was that British citizenship should be extended. Those who asked that the law might be changed asked it Those who asked that the law might be changed asked it because they thought it a great honour and advantage to be English citizens, because they could thus hold land, and perhaps offices of trust in England, and enjoy British protection also. Now the cry for change comes from a different quarter. The Irish abroad want not to be considered British citizens. They ask that, if they have been naturalized as citizens of the United States, they may be treated as Americans would be treated; and practically the reason why they envy the Americans is twofold. In the first place a foreigner cannot, but a British subject can, be conplace a foreigner cannot, but a British subject can, be convicted of plots against the British Government in a foreign country; and secondly, a foreigner can, but a British subjet cannot, ask that foreigners shall sit on the jury that tries them. The Irish wish to be able to conspire against the QUEEN in the United States, and they wish to have a better chance of getting off if they are caught. It is very probable that a desire to stand well with the Irish vote has had something to do with the President's sudden zeal for settling the question of naturalization. However, that is not a matter of much moment. We may be confident that Englishmen will be quite ready to treat the subject fairly and dispassionately when it is properly brought before them.

But what ought to be the law of naturalization? Let us for the moment discard the English theory altogether, and suppose ourselves ready to do what justice, and the real permsadvisers ilt one. is now As the can deported. t, intel-hey are setting ngs the

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nent interest of England and of all civilized nations, would sagest. Clearly what we ought to do is no more than it is the duty of France and Prussia to accept. Has the citizen of mother State the right to ask that, under certain specific conditions which every honest man may fulfil, he shall become as ditions which every honest man may fulfil, he shall become as much a citizen of any State as a citizen by birth? No existing code of law goes as far as this, for the President of the United States must be a born American; but the American law goes almost as far, for every adult, not being a married woman, who takes the oath of fidelity, and subsequently lives two years in an American State, becomes ipso facto an imerican citizen so far as the general law of the land goes, although each State may, if it pleases, impose a longer term of residence. But in every European State a stranger must be permitted by some recognised authority to become a citizen. In France, soon after the Revolution of 1789, all the world was welcomed to French citizenship, and in the first paroxysm of enthusiasm in 1848 all foreigners were the world was welcomed to French citizenship, and in the first paroxysm of enthusiasm in 1848 all foreigners were declared eligible to the French Assembly. But this soon passed away, and no one can now become a French citizen unlass with the express permission of the Emperor. Is this vise and right? or have the Americans, who welcome us so easily, any claim that we shall be equally civil to them? We think not, for we can scarcely be asked to accept against our will the duty which the Americans seem so eager to discharge—that of protecting as our own subjects foreign conspirators against a foreign Power. To have all Leicester Square thrown on our hands in this way is more than we could stand, and there is no hardship in saying that it will require a stranger to prove himself a decent, well-conducted person, really making England his home, before we naturalize himself abroad, and if so, on what conditions? It is a very great argument against our system that it alone never congreat argument against our system that it alone never con-templates denaturalization or the abnegation of citizenship as possible. In Prussia and Austria a man who gets leave to emigrate, and wishes not to be any longer a citizen, ceases to he one. In France, and in France alone among the great States, any citizen can by his own act, without the consent of any authority, cease to be a citizen. If without French permission he is naturalized, or permanently fixes himself, in a foreign country, he ceases, ipso facto, to be a French citizen. That happens to him which the Americans wish just citizen. That happens to him which the Americans wish just now should happen to every Irishman naturalized in the United States. But does the French law contemplate this as an advantage to him? On the contrary, it treats him as an outcast. He loses all his civil rights. All his goods are confiscated; if property descends to him, he is passed over as if he were non-existent, and his heritage goes to the next heir. If he returns to France, he may be arrested and conducted over the frontier; and if he returns a second time, he is liable to a term of imprisonment, which may extend to ten years, and cannot be less than one. If the Americans claim that, when they choose to naturalize a foreigner, he shall be treated in all respects in the country of his birth as a born citizen of the United States would be treated, they must get France to alter its laws, as well as all other European States. Perhaps this may be done; but it can only be done after long discussion, and a thoroughly impartial examination of long discussion, and a thoroughly impartial examination of the whole subject under every point of view. To do them-selves justice and win their point, the jurists employed by the American Government must direct their attention, not to England only, or to little German States, but must show them-selves capable of laying down general rules, and indicating the course which the civilized world ought to adopt.

nent interest of England and of all civilized nations, would

#### FRANCE AND GERMANY.

WHEN the Emperor of AUSTRIA came to Paris, shortly before the closing of the Exhibition, it struck the Parisians as a good joke to cheer him as the patron and apostle of liberty, to contrast their own sad state with the happy condition of his subjects, and to pursue him with cries of "Liberty "such as they have in Austria." This is a kind of playfulness that has not much effect on their own rules but it expressed "such as they have in Austria." This is a kind of playfulness that has not much effect on their own ruler, but it expressed perhaps rather more of truth than they supposed. France really has something to do with "liberty such as they have in "Austria." That Austria should be daily stepping further into the paths of Constitutionalism, daily coming more under the influence of liberal and secular ideas, is a matter of considerable moment to France. Austria is, as the Emperor Napoleon honestly confesses, the only ally on whom France can now reckon. But Austria with a Constitution, with a political life of its own gaining strength every day, with Hungary having recognised claims on it, and able in a large degree to

control its own policy, is not at all the ally which Austria might once have been to France. Why should constitutional Austria be in a hurry to form a French alliance? So far as general expressions go, there will, of course, be plenty of agreement and cordiality between the two sovereigns. They are both Catholic princes, they are both opposed more or less to Prussia, they neither of them can be expected to wish that Italy should be too prosperous and powerful, and they are both interested in the preservation of Turkey and the repression of Russia. But Austria will not rush into a war again unless either she is once more forced to fight for her existence, or unless she sees her way to a very clear advantage. To be thought the ally of France in all cases and at all hazards would be the greatest loss to her possible. It would set all Germany against her at once; and indeed all Germany is already against France and the allies of France, and it would derange her whole internal policy to be mixed up with France while France is in its present mood. A Catholic crusade, undertaken by believers and unbelievers alike as a means of splitting up contiguous States, may be an idea likely to find favour with Frenchmen in their actual state of irritation and ill-humour, but it would not at all suit Austria. If Constitutionalism is to flourish in Austria, it must be at the expense of the priests. Liberal ideas all over the world are really the same, and a nation cannot be at once strongly Catholic and politically free. Enthusiasts like M. DE MONTALEMBERT have often tried to persuade the world that this is possible, but experience is entirely against them. Or, if they will not bow to experience, there is an authority against them to which they are bound to defer. The Pope takes an opportunity about once every six months to curse and denounce and solemnly protest against those ideas on against them to which they are bound to defer. The Fore-takes an opportunity about once every six months to curse and denounce and solemnly protest against those ideas on which alone Constitutionalism can be based. It is true that in constitutional countries, and even in Republics, the clerical party accepts what it cannot alter, and makes the best of its position. But it does not like its position. It only keeps its claims for a while dormant. And, at the outset of Constitutionalism in any Catholic country, those who adhere to the new scheme of things have always to fight a battle with the priests, as the Austrians who wish for political liberty are fighting at this very time. They have but to keep the priests in the background, to exalt the secular arm, to make it quite clear to all concerned that a modelling of all human life on ecclesiastical principles—which is the aim, and always must be the aim, of the clerical party—is not going to be tolerated in the country with which they have to do. To join France, therefore, on the common ground of their religion would be particularly unacceptable to Austrian statesmen just now, and manifestly unwise. party accepts what it cannot alter, and makes the best of its

The stronger Germany grows, the more united in itself, and the more distinct in its yiews and aims, the greater will be the jealousy of France; but the greater also will be the dislike in Austria to meddle with Germany. Scarcely a month passes without something fresh being done to make Germany more united. The North is becoming more and more consolidated. Prussia is being warreed in North Germany, and if Prussia is merged. is being merged in North Germany; and if Prussia is merged, still more will the little States be. In a very short time the component parts of the Federation will have disappeared for component parts of the Federation will have disappeared for all but internal purposes. Diplomacy will know them no more. The representatives of Prussia at foreign Courts will no longer represent Prussia, but North Germany. This will at once mark the total difference between the new Federation and the old Bund, for the members of the old Bund, as well as the Bund itself, had a diplomatic existence. The old Bund was, in fact, nothing more than an elaborate contrivance for securing the existence and independence of the smaller States. Prussia wished them to exist, lest Austria should swallow them up. Austria wished them to exist, lest Prussia should swallow them up. France and Russia wished them to exist, because they afforded a ready field of operations for checking the ambitious designs both of Austria and of Prussia. But, as no one wishes them to exist who has any means whatever of getting what he Austria and of Prussia. But, as no one wishes them to exist who has any means whatever of getting what he wishes, the objects of the old Bund are gone, and nothing could better bring home to the notice of the world how completely they are gone than this project of merging the diplomatic representation of Prussia in that of North Germany. Nor is it only that the States of the Confederation are rapidly growing more consolidated, but the Southern States are rapidly becoming attached more and more closely to the North. They have really thrown in their lot with Prussia. They are training their troops so as to be able to co-operate with Prussian soldiers. Their contingents will always be at the service of those who rule Germany from Berlin. Their existence grows more and more shadowy. They

do exist, and will exist externally, perhaps, for some little time longer, but they have no longer any relations with foreign Powers that are of the slightest importance. They have promised that they will place themselves at the disposal of Prussia against all foreign Powers, and they have, it is said, gone so far as to say expressly that, among foreign Powers, they include Austria. The diplomatists of France, and even the Emperor of the French in person, have tried in vain to shake their resolution. They will stick to Prussia, and take their chance; and therefore, even if for the honour of the thing they like to keep up separate diplomatic representation, foreign Powers have really nothing to do with them. They are lost to Europe, and are absorbed in Prussia. All Germany lies between the allies, if France and Austria are to enter into the alliance. But who in Austria are to be the friends of France? They must be either the Austrian Germans or the Hungarians. As for the Czecks and Poles and Serbs, and the other outlandish creatures over whom Francis Joseph has the happiness of reigning, they are of no political account in a great war. The Austrian Germans and the Hungarians alone are capable of framing and carrying out a policy. That either of them should be able to force the other into the enormous risk of a war with Germany is not very likely now that each section has the advantages of constitutional government to help it. But there is no clear reason why either should wish, on its own account, to run the risk. Hungary is not very likely to forget all its traditions, and its long connexion with the revolutionary party in Europe. Why should it wish to crush Italy, for the pleasure and profit of priests and a military Empire? And the Austrian Germans will hesitate a long time before they come forward as the foes of united Germany, and as the abettors of the avowed enemies of the German race.

Count BISMARK has lately been reproached in the Prussian Parliament for being too subservient to Russia. As it happened, he had a very good answer to the particular instances of subserviency charged against him. The frontier arrangements with Russia press hardly on Prussian subjects, but then, as Count BISMARK observed, they press still more hardly on the Russians. The few German still more hardly on the Russians. The few German proprietors of Livonia and Courland are being teased by the Russians, and are in some danger of having to become Orthodox and to speak Russian. They naturally do not like this. Russian is an awful language to have to learn, and those who see the Greek Church at home have not that longing to be in communion with it which some Protestants have who see it at a greater distance. But it is ridiculous to suppose that Prussia is to go to war to save them. She is not going to undertake a task very much beyond her strength for an object so infinitesimally small. The friendship of Russia is, indeed, the keystone of Russian policy; and it is because Austria is kept in constant terror by Russia, while France thinks that Prussia allied to Russia is too dangerous for her to meddle with, that Count BISMARK has got and is getting so much of his own way. Undoubtedly Prussia gives somemuch of his own way. Undoubtedly Prussia gives something in return. In the first place, she unites with Russia on all Polish questions. She insists on the Poles of Posen being absorbed in her, as Russia wipes out the separate existence of all the Poles in her vast Polish territory. They neither of them will have anything in their territories at all like Galicia, which in a few years will be the only Poland left. In the next place, Prussia follows the lead of Russia altogether in the Eastern question, and in everything to do with Turkey. Russia is indisputably getting up a movement in that explosive and dangerous quarter of up a movement in that explosive and dangerous quarter of the world, and Prussia helps her not only by taking the same view of political difficulties, and being unhappy about the state of things in Candia and Epirus and Servia according as Russia is concerned about them, but also by keeping Austria quiet. It is difficult to see how a great convulsion and possible dismemberment of Eastern Turkey could take place without Austria being effected, and this is really almost the only confusence which affected; and this is really almost the only contingency which anected; and this is really almost the only contingency which could make the much-talked-of alliance between France and Austria a reality. If France would put out her whole strength to protect both Turkey and Austria, it might be possible that the Austrians, after freely debating the matter in a Constitutional Chamber, should come to the conclusion that they would gain enough to compensate for the great risk of quarrelling with Germany. But even this is only a remote chance, and it is quite as likely that Russia and Prussia will find some means of tranquillizing the fears of Austria, or of find some means of tranquillizing the fears of Austria, or of completely overawing her, as that France will persuade her to encounter the fearful danger, not merely of defeat, but of dis-ruption, which a struggle with united Germany must bring

# THE GOVERNMENT AND THE FENIAN PROCESSIONS.

THERE was certainly something to be said in favour of the inaction of the Government towards the Fenians. Nothing could in fact be more absurd, more farcical, than the Nothing could in fact be more absurd, more farcical, than the repeated and unchecked gathering of thousands of men and boys to denounce the tyrannical despotism of the Government. The fact itself only required to be cited to dash the sympathies and stop the eloquence of Continental Liberals. When a staid and sober Englishman put his foreign catechist the such his facings the general question. What we staid through his facings, the general question, "What are the "Irish grievances?" never failed to draw out the response "Irish grievances?" never failed to draw out the response, "Ah! you persecute them, you English. You gag their "press, you strangle their liberties, &c. &c." When the sympathizer was quietly told that the Irish met as often as they liked, talked as much treason as they liked, and, not content with talking it, wrote it and disseminated it in penny papers throughout the country three hundred and thirteen days in every year, he was reduced to incredulous silence. That any people having the right of meeting, speaking, and writing about their grievances, and having also the right of electing their representatives in Parliament, should go on growling about the despotism of their Government, was such a delicious self-contradiction that thoughtful Liberals did not like to say much about Irish woes. And if the Irish had remained just as they were in And if the Irish had remained just as they were in O'CONNELL's time, contemptuous indifference would have been the soundest policy of the Government. But the times and the people have changed, and the policy of the Government must change with them. In O'CONNELL's day agitation did not mean treason. O'CONNELL agitated for the repeal of the Union; for an Ireland such as there was at the beginning of the century; an Ireland with an Irish Par-liament in Dublin, Irish Lords and Commons, and an Irish Exchequer, but an Ireland subject to the sceptre of the English Sovereign. Whoever once heard O'CONNELL address his provincial meetings cannot have forgotten the perorations, often very beautiful, in which he delineated Ireland restored to her independence, raising her grateful eye and voice to the monarch under whose sway she was only too happy to remain. O'Connell's programme was just as impracticable as Fenianism, but it was not disloyal. The machinery of Government, not its character, was to have been remodelled by the agitator's policy. The creation of a new form of government, such as a Republic, was wholly foreign to his And as to attaining his object by secret associations, he would as soon have thought of introducing Thuggism into Ireland. Now all that has changed. Fenians meet, not to hear picturesque and poetical speeches, or to contribute half-pence, but to subvert the existing order of things, to set up a republic in Ireland, and to make that country, so far as in them lies, the rival and the foe of England. Nor are the means unworthy of the object. The old Celtic passion for secret association has revived with more than its pristine vigour. Were O'Connell alive, he would find himself wholly impotent to subdue it. The priests are powerless now. Despite their warnings, and despite the counsel of some wary friends, Irish disaffection is now based upon secret association. Fenianism is Ribandism expanded, ramified, and more completely organized than ever. The machinery which Ribandism used for the destruction of a hard landlord, a too just agent, or an obnoxious interloper, is now used by Fenians for the subversion of all government and the terror of all loyal men. This is the great, striking, fundamental change since the time of

In the face of this change it was virtually impossible for the Ministry to remain inactive. The secret association and the open demonstration mutually supported each other. The open array gave confidence and impulse to the secret society. The secret society furnished strength and materials to the overt display. Was there a large meeting, with treasonable emblems in Cork or Dublin? Its effect was felt in the multiplication of secret sectional clubs among the scattered populations of Kerry and Clare and Limerick. Was a great Fenian meeting projected? Fenian agents went round bearing the orders of secret societies to all the affiliated sections to attend. Was a funeral procession projected in honour of "martyred" murderers? The agents of the secret societies were at work again, with the injunction that every member should bring his friends and kinsmen to the gathering. By degrees the whole country assumed the look and character of a mutinous camp. There were policemen and soldiers enough, but they did not interfere. Every day therefore added to the security, the numbers, and the pre-

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tensions of the seditious. In certain cities of the South, to be on the side of peace and order was to be ostensibly on the side of the minority. Not to attend a seditious demonstration or form part of a Fenian procession was, in a large stratum of life, to be unfashionable and unlike one's neighbours. The cause of sedition presented many combinations of attraction. There was the infection of numerous examples; there was the pleasure of large gatherings at little cost; and there was the greater pleasure of defying authority with the most perfect impunity. If to the attractions of secure illegality and treasonable chatter it were necessary to add another, another was found in the attendance of Americanized Irish "boys" who had left the farm or the hut ten years ago, had become soldiers in a foreign land, had seen real war, and were now returned with the titles of "captain" and "colonel" to bluster about the prostration of England and the restitution of Irish independence. Given these conditions, the restitution of Irish independence. Given these conditions,

the restitution of Irish independence. Given these conditions, with a Government standing by in passive quiescence, and what was to be expected? What but that the mass of the people—the neutral, the well-disposed, and the orderly—would be gradually absorbed into the growing current of sedition, would be borne along by the torrent from which the only power capable of extricating them refused to save them? It is difficult for us, breathing the free air of English society, and accustomed to hear all opinions expressed without restraint, to understand how the dull heavy pressure of an appropriated conspiracy weighs upon the courage and intelli-

straint, to understand how the dull heavy pressure of an unopposed conspiracy weighs upon the courage and intelligence of ordinary men. In Ireland there are hundreds of respectable well-to-do people who know perfectly well that their fortunes would be ruined by the separation of the two countries, and who are equally aware that the youths from Dublin shops and cellars are not the most auspicious sponsors of a revolutionary movement, but who still, through fear and deference to the mob about them, allow themselves as he callisted into the ranks of sedition, to echo its cry. join fear and deference to the mob about them, allow themselves to be enlisted into the ranks of sedition, to echo its cry, join in its demonstration, and canvass for its support. To such folk the interference of the Government is a perfect godsend. It does for them that which they had not the courage or the conscience to do for themselves. Many a man who had not the courage to say "I am no Fenian," will be bold enough to say, "I don't want to go to gaol; I can't afford to fight the "Government." In this way hundreds of farmers, tradesmen, and middle-class people will be able to detach themselves from a cause with which they never had a hearty sympathy, and to which they gave their adhesion only because they were too timid to withhold it. When the cause of Fenianism is left absolutely to Dublin shopboys and American rowdies it may be expected soon to collapse.

may be expected soon to collapse.

we thus see the importance of the step which the Government has at length taken. By its proclamation it has ensisted the neutral, the apathetic, and the well-to-do on the side of the law. If it is only firm in its dealings with every abettor of sedition, in whatever position he be, and if it refuses to dally with treason under the pretext of magnanimity, the country which witnessed the birth will before long see the fall of Fenianism. But the Government must be firm. Its legal agents must be firm. Its magistrates and law officers must not allow the dignity of the Courts must be firm. Its legal agents must be firm. Its magistrates and law officers must not allow the dignity of the Courts and the majesty of the law to be insulted by such exhibitions as Mr. Martin and Sir John Gray have just indulged in. As to Fenianism in England, it may be more difficult to repress, because it is less bold here than it is on the other side of the Channel. Here it is generally confined to the Irish quarters of our large cities. It plots and conspires in wretched tenements, fetid cellars, and frowzy ginshous. It does not pretend to such converts among the neighshops. It does not pretend to seek converts among the neigh-bouring English population. If ever it entertained such hopes, it must now abandon them, since the atrocities from which it does not shrink have roused the indignation of every which it does not shrink have roused the indignation of every honest Englishman in the land against the combination of murder and treason. The business of the Government in England will probably be less to put down processions, drillings, and other seditious demonstrations than to watch the furtive meetings of small knots of Irishmen. A horrible experience has taught us to expect that, whenever two or three low Irishmen are gathered together, there are likely to be also a fusee, a barrel of powder, a bottle of petroleum, or some other infernal engine of wholesale assassination.

With Fenings of these in England on Irishmen the Government.

With Fenians, either in England or Ireland, the Government will soon learn to deal effectively, if only it is firm enough. Perhaps the madness which goes before destruction may prompt a repetition of the diabolical crime which we have recently witnessed. This would be a material aid to the Government, for it would supplement the efforts of the police and the soldiers by the assistance of every able-bodied civilian in the

country. But there is a sort of quasi-Fenianism with which it is more difficult to deal. This does not affect to be noisy, demonstrative, or defiant. It neither drills, marches, nor shoots constables. It is not openly seditious. It only colludes with sedition in a sneaking, cowardly way. While all single-minded men are bent upon preventing the alternative of civil war or normal anarchy, this mischievous faction still comes forward, in the garb of Liberalism, to denounce severity and preach Reform. "Don't punish these poor Fenians! "Think rather of the wrongs which have impelled them to these "deeds, and remove the abuses of which they complain." It is difficult to know when some folks are in carnest and when jesting. It is a sorry jest when liberal Englishmen come forward with the tags of the Repeal programme to protest against the punishment of wholesale murder or avowed rebellion. If they are really in earnest in their protest, it may possibly be not wholly useless to invite them to study the Irish question a little more thoroughly; and to ask themselves what reform would have satisfied the yearnings of Mr. Martin, Colonel Burke, or any other sedition-monger of the day? Is it Church Reform? If one thing is clearer than any other, it is that Fenianism is entirely indifferent to the claims of all Churches. Is it reform of the land laws? The only reform which the Fenians care for in this direction is one which should eject every existing Irish landlord, and supply their places with the the Fenians care for in this direction is one which should eject every existing Irish landlord, and supply their places with the Fenian "boys." Is it the encouragement of manufactures and railways? This can only come from the Imperial Parliament, which these madmen are seeking to oust from its part in the government of Ireland. Every reasonable reform they have the right to ask at the hands of Parliament, and every reasonable reform Parliament is willing to grant. But reasonable and practicable reform is not what they seek. The only reform which the Fenians will accept is one which should dethrone the Royal dynasty, break up the integrity of the Empire, and erect a republic within three hours' sail of us, jealous, hostile, and insolent. It is against projects like these that the Government will be expected and encouraged to use every resource and every arm at its command. the Fenians care for in this direction is one which should eject resource and every arm at its command.

#### AMERICA.

THE telegraphic summary of the President's Message was sufficiently accurate; but the complete text of the document is, as might be expected, more characteristic. Mr. Johnson is not deficient in the fluency of language and of argument which is almost universal among his countrymen, and his strong feelings communicate a certain freshness to the discussion of controverted questions which have long since been worn threadbare. In his veto Messages, and on many other occasions, the President has reiterated the statement of his orinion that the Reconstruction policy of Congress is as his opinion that the Reconstruction policy of Congress is as erroneous and inexpedient as it is undoubtedly unconstitu-tional; and the same sermon is now once more preached on the old text, with the expression of a conventional hope that Congress will at last rescind the Acts which give effect to its deliberate purpose. In the Old World the formal avowal of deliberate purpose. In the Old World the formal avowal of an irreconcileable difference between the Executive and the an irreconcileable difference between the Executive and the Legislature of a State would be thought unseemly and inconvenient; but American Presidents have often criticized and reproved the measures of Congress, more especially in the days when Mr. Pierce and Mr. Buchanan were in the habit of imputing to Republican majorities the criminal design of interfering with slavery. The framers of the Federal compact, full of the constitutional traditions of England, intended the President's Message to serve the purpose of a Speech from the Throne, and the earlier Presidents accordingly confined themselves to reports of their own executive proceedings, and to suggestions of legislative measures which they considered desirable. It was deemed fitting that full information on the state of the Republic should be communicated to Congress, and that the Legislature should be invited to supply any deficiencies which had been disclosed in the course of administration. No law-giver would have deliberately provided for the periodical publication of a solemn argument in opposition to the policy in which the Senate and the House of Representatives had almost unanimously concurred. The elected or hereditary chief of a nation speaks with authority when he announces his intentions, or when he states matters of fact which have fallen within his official cognisance; but his arguments, like those of private persons, derive weight only from his character or from their own logical force. Mr. Johnson's exposure of the anomalies of the Reconstruction system has been anticipated, in America and in Europe, by political observers who were Legislature of a State would be thought unseemly and inconanomalies of the Reconstruction system has been anticipated, in America and in Europe, by political observers who were restrained by no considerations of formal deference for the

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opinions of Congress. If the Message had been transmitted at the close of the last Session, it would only have provoked ridicule as a useless protest against a decision which had been irrevocably adopted; but after the elections of the autumn the President's language will command attention, because his principal conclusions have been sanctioned by large majorities in the most populous Northern States.

The considerations which have respectively determined the course of the President and of the Republican majority are virtually incommensurable. Deductions from the letter of the Constitution may be irrelevant in a revolutionary crisis; and, on the other hand, arguments of public necessity afford no direct answer to legal demonstrations. While Mr. Johnson obstinately maintains the doctrine that the Southern States never separated themselves from the Union, because their Acts of Secession were intrinsically void, his extreme opponents reply that the war put an end to all previous opponents reply that the war put an end to all previous relations, and that the conquered territories lie absolutely at the mercy of the victor. The most enthusiastic prophets of Republicanism further support their conclusions, after the example of Mahomer, by occasional revelations of the divine purpose of the unconscious founders of the Republic. Mr. Thaddeus Stevens asserts without hesitation that Washington and his associates contemplated universal and negro suffrage, at the same time at which they determined that the whole North American Continent should be included in the Federal dominions. An inspired commentator always makes it his business to discover his own doctrines in the sacred writings which he professes to interpret. If, however, it were necessary to deliver a judicial sentence on the dispute, there can be no doubt that Mr. Johnson's version of the Constitution would be recognised as correct. No legislator formally admits the possibility of a successful revolt which would supersede the scope and result of his labours; and as it was taken for granted that the Union would continue, no provision was made for the contingency of temporary or final disruption. Mr. Lincoln during the war, and his successor on the conclusion of peace, assumed dictatorial powers to meet an unforeseen emergency. Congress has but prolonged and extended the same provisional system of administration, and if its measures are judicious it is useless to show that they transcend the formal limits of the

The portions of the Message in which the expediency of the Reconstruction Acts is discussed are more forcible than the proof that the Southern States never seceded. It is impossible to deny that nine or ten States are now governed by military authority, as a step to the establishment of negro supremacy. The temporary evil might be borne even by earnest votaries of the Constitution, but the government of white Americans by liberated negro slaves is both an out-rage on common sense and an eventual impossibility. As Mr. Johnson suggests, the extension of the right of voting to an utterly incompetent constituency is a degradation of the suffrage. The American system of government is founded on the assumption that every citizen is sufficiently intelligent and independent to bear his proportionate share in the government of the country, and it is absolutely certain that the negroes are incapable of understanding the simplest political questions. It is difficult to dispute the justice of the PRESIDENT'S further contention that no laws or constitutions PRESIDENT'S further contention that no laws or constitutions will really enable the negroes to govern the superior race; and that, consequently, Congress must either submit to the defeat of its own policy, or subject the Southern States for an indefinite period to military occupation. The most effective part of his argument probably consists in his reference to the verdicts which have lately been delivered by the chief Northern States on the issue of negro suffrage. It is difficult to convince an adversary that he deserves to fail but he can to convince an adversary that he deserves to fail, but he cannot refuse to attend to the symptoms which indicate that he is about to be defeated. For some time past the enemies of the PRESIDENT have contented themselves with condemning his hopeless opposition to irresistible force, but, now that he may perhaps be supported by a majority of the Northern people, his reasons will command attention. He might have strengthened his case by warning Congress of the sufferings which inconsiderate legislation will almost cer-tainly entail on the unfortunate negroes. The worst enemies of the coloured population could devise no course more ruinous to its interests than a policy which will encourage the insolence and conceit of the negroes for a time, with the certainty that they will ultimately be left at the mercy of their former masters. Mr. Johnson's anticipation of a possible collision with Congress seems unnecessary and imprudent, although it is introduced in explanation of his

submission to legislative measures which he denounces as In certain cases, and especially in the unconstitutional. unconstitutional. In certain cases, and especially in the event of an Act purporting to suppress or suspend the Presidential authority, Mr. Johnson avows his deliberate purpose of resisting usurpation by force. The evil produced by the Reconstruction Act was not, in his opinion, grave enough to justify a resort to arms; and it may be added that the commencement of civil war on such a pretext would have been universally and justly regarded as an act of treason.

In dealing with questions of finance, Mr. Johnson still recurs to the political blunders of Congress; but his recomrecurs to the political bullders of Congress; but his recom-mendations are substantially sound, although they are not likely to prevail at present. He proposes the contraction of the paper currency, which Congress has since prohibited, an early return to specie payments, and the maintenance of good faith to the public creditor. The President's orthodox theories of finance are probably derived from the Secretary of the TREASURY, as his foreign policy bears the impress of Mr. SEWARD's diplomacy. The brief reference to the Alabama claims takes for granted, after true American fashion, that no resistance can ultimately be offered to the national will; and in announcing the purchase of two West India islands from Denmark, the President is careful to explain that the acquisition is intended for warlike purposes, and that it is more especially directed against England. With perfectly unnecessary candour he proceeds to express his belief that all the West India islands will ultimately fall into the power of the United States, and probably he is not conscious of having exhibited any want of courtesy to the present owners of the possessions which he covets. It is perhaps rather in consequence of personal dislike to Mr. Johnson, than through any dissent from his policy, that the House of Representatives has passed a Resolution deprecating further purchases of territory without the authority of Congress, and even refusing for the present any appropriation for the completion of the contract with Denmark, though it is not likely that any party will persist in rejecting a useful and popular acquisition. The decisive defeat of the motion for impeachment seems to show that the President was justified in adopting a tone of defiance to the Republicans.

THE publication of the Italian Green Book clears up part of the mist which had still been left hanging over the history of the late French intervention. It is clear beyond a doubt that the brilliant and effective sketches of the late situation contained in the speeches of M. ROUHER and M. DE MOUSTIER are more or less imaginary; and that their denunciations of the King of ITALY and the Italian nation have been characterised by inaccuracy as well as arrogance. The telegraphic despatches which are recorded as having passed between M. NIGRA and his Court supply some important omissions in the Livre Jaune, and account perhaps for the singular gaps and curtailments with which the French diplomatic documents have been orinted. The charge of the Imperial Ministry against M. RATTAZZI'S Government had the merit of precision. M. Nigra Frinted. The charge of the Imperial Ministry against as.

RATTAZZI'S Government had the merit of precision. M. Niera is accused of having originated an idea of joint occupation, which the Cabinet of the Tuileries, on the contrary, had repudiated as an outrage and an insult. "Our honour, our rectitude, all those " sentiments which live in the hearts of Frenchmen as in their "natural soil, rose"—so said M. DE MOUSTIER—"in revolt. "We repelled indignantly the complicity offered with a sort of "bonhommie which doubled the affront." We pointed out at the time that internal evidence in the French Yellow Book seemed to cast the strongest suspicion on the fidelity of this account of the transactions between Florence and Paris. It now turns out, as we anticipated, that the proposal made by Italy to France, at the end of September and at the beginning October, was not for any joint occupation at all; that Italy protested, on the contrary, against any joint measure of the kind with all her energy; that the solution she had suggested was that of an Italian intervention pure and simple; and that France, for some time at least, hesitated and paused to parley on the subject of the Italian proposition. If this be the true version of what happened, what is to be thought of the French EMPEROR and his spokesmen, and their policy, and their susceptible sentiments of honour, which elicited the cheers of the Corps Législatif? An explanation has yet to be given, if the French Opposition deputies can manage to extort it; but never since the beginning of the French Empire has an explanation touching its character and veracity been more indis-

As early as September 30, M. RATTAZZI, through M. NIGRA, his Ambassador, warned Napoleon III. of the King's intention

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intervene in the event of a Republican rising at Rome. M. Nigha at once saw the French Emperor at Biarritz, and a rebal agreement was effected by which both the French and Inlian Governments pledged themselves to give each other imely notice before adopting any positive resolution; unless, indeed, as M. RATTAZZI took care to add, events should follow each other with such rapidity as to leave no time for exchange of communications. During the first ten days of October the crisis, so far from abating, grew more and more serious. On the 12th, the Emperor, "recognising the sincerity of the efforts of the Royal Government," warns it that France will be compelled to take measures on her part; and on the 13th, penetrated with a similar view as to the exigency France will be compened to take measures on her part; and on the 13th, penetrated with a similar view as to the exigency of the occasion, M. RATTAZZI telegraphed in turn to Paris, that, in his opinion, matters had arrived at such a pass as to necessitate an occupation of Rome by the Italian troops. On the 15th M. Nigra consults M. RATTAZZI whether he may not the 15th M. Nigra consults M. Rattazzi whether he may not promise France that, after putting down the insurrection, the italian troops will retire to their positions on the frontier. M. Rattazzi's answer is the turning-point of the negotiations. "Impossible"—he telegraphed—"for us to undertake to "resume our position on the frontier after the occupation." The idea that Italy should start the project of a Congress M. Rattazzi as unequivocally declined. He was unwilling to give any pledges at all, except the poor promise that, if after an Italian intervention France proposed a Congress, "pro"hably "Italy would have no objection to urge. It is prorebially easy to criticize after the event. But, standing mexplained, this final telegram of M. Rattazzi appears to have unexplained, this final telegram of M. RATTAZZI appears to have been a blunder. Italy asked too much; the French Government now determined that she should get nothing. From that moment a French occupation was definitely determined.

A Council met immediately at St. Cloud. The effect of M. RATIAZZ's communication was seen in its decision. "Intervention"—so ran M. Nigra's telegraph—"is already decided upon. The party that advised it in the Council supported its opinion especially by the allegation that, if the "King's Government intervened with its troops, it could not undertake to evacuate the Roman States after having established order." This important despatch, written in the very middle of the difficulty, is a piece of evidence the genuineness. "lished order." This important despatch, written in the very middle of the difficulty, is a piece of evidence the genuineness of which is beyond all cavil. It does but confirm what has so often been stated about the true policy to have been pursued at this particular juncture. If M. RATTAZZI had boldly entered the Papal States as the Pope's protector, publishing to the world his determination to retire again when the insurrection had been quelled, Rome would perhaps have been surrection had been quelled, Rome would perhaps have been won. Instead of this, he entertained the rash idea of dealing with the Pope as Cavour dealt with the Bourrons at Naples. Even as it was, fortune gave the Italian Government a long and patient chance before it pronounced against them. The French Emperon did not strike at once after the St. Cloud Council. The negotiations now entered on a second phase, during which the idea of a joint occupation was the subject of diplomatic discussion. Will it be believed, after M. Rouher's and M. de Moustier's passionate invectives in the French Chamber, that M. Rouher himself actually proposed to M. Nigra an arrangement in himself actually proposed to M. Nigra an arrangement in virtue of which a joint occupation might take place upon terms? M. Nigra writes on the 17th that M. Rouher proposed, in case the French occupation were followed up by an Italian one, "that the joint intervention should be regulated by "common agreement, and contemporaneously effected," and be undertook, as a corollary of his proposition, that the end of the difficulty should be an "equitable solution of the Roman "question." It is true that M. ROUHER said this on his way to, and not from, a second Council at St. Cloud. But M. ROUHER was not the less the First Minister of the French EMPEROR. Indeed those who are accominted with the providence of the contract of the property of the contract of the EMPEROR. Indeed, those who are acquainted with the posi-tion which this eminent statesman has recently acquired in Imperial councils owing to the growing indecision and growing years of Napoleon III., may be pardoned for believing that at this critical moment M. Rouher was the French Empire.

Empire.
So far from this joint scheme of operations having been suggested by Italy and denounced indignantly at Paris, it was at Paris that it originated, and it was left to M. RATTAZZI to repudiate it. The Italian Premier at once informed his French representative that any contract of the sort would would the national feelings of Italy and arouse general indignation. The Italian troops meanwhile were gathering for a single-handed march on Rome. The hour had arrived for the final movement when M. RATTAZZI fell. He had conducted himself up to the last moment with courage, if not with prudence. The history of his last few weeks in office

proves that he was neither a coward nor a traitor. The truth unhappily remains that he had blundered. If he could not calculate on the prompt execution of his plans, he ought to have been content with less, and to have abstained from offering France an ultimatum which it was almost impossible

she should accept.

The recent debates in the Italian Parliament are a sign that M. The recent debates in the Itanian Parliament are a sign that M.
RATTAZZI is not considered by the Italians to have irrevocably forfeited the confidence of the country. At present he is excluded from office by a belief that his return to it would lead to a certain breach with France. But his influence outside has been sufficient to drive the MENABREA Cabinet into an intelligible and particle of the MenaBrea Cabinet into an intelligible and particle of the MenaBrea Cabinet into an intelligible and particle of the MenaBrea Cabinet into an intelligible and particle of the MenaBrea Cabinet into an intelligible and particle of the MenaBrea Cabinet into an intelligible and particle of the MenaBrea Cabinet into an intelligible and particle of the MenaBrea Cabinet into an intelligible gible and patriotic attitude. Not much exception can be taken to M. Menabrea's recent speeches. The present Cabinet have steered their course as well as could be expected of a feeble Ministry. They have avoided extremes. M. Menabrea has been courteous, but not subservient, to Napoleon III.; and his declarations about the September Convention have and his declarations about the September Convention have gained daily in precision and in firmness, though it would be far better and safer at once to declare to the world that Italy no longer considers herself bound by so unfortunate a document. Italy cannot any longer consider as subsisting a treaty which the presence of French troops upon Italian soil is hourly infringing. At least it is suspended, if it is not even rescinded. What may be her ultimate view upon the subject she declines prematurely to announce. It is the EMPEROR's turn to move next, and, in the condition of the Continent and of France, his next move is one of importance and of danger. If he has finally resolved to make common cause with the Catholic party at home, Italy's only resource is to with the Catholic party at home, Italy's only resource is to choose fresh alliances, and to trust to time, which has in its womb an Eastern and a German, as well as an Italian "question."

#### THE DEAD-LOCK IN VICTORIA.

THE odd constitutional contest which has raged for two or three years in the colony of Victoria still proceeds with unabated vigour, nor have Australian politicians yet learned the English secret of reconciling two independent and co-ordinate Legislative bodies. Social sympathies, the habitual pursuit of common objects, and electoral influences which cannot always be reconciled with the strict theory of the Concannot always be reconciled with the strict theory of the Constitution, have hitherto enabled Lords and Commons, with some periodical bickerings, to avoid any decisive collision. It will be well if the working of the new Reform Bill produces none of the results which trouble democratic Parliaments in the colonies. Yet it must not be supposed that Victoria is on the verge of rebellion, although it prides itself on the belief the title almost passing through a revolution. The terms belief that it is almost passing through a revolution. The Home Government is happily not a party to the struggle, and the visit of an English Prince to the remote antipodes educes a fervour of personal loyalty which has apparently acquired fresh vigour from transplantation. Although the Council and the Assembly are unable to pass an Appropriation Rill all rections. are unable to pass an Appropriation Bill, all parties agree are unable to pass an Appropriation Bill, all parties agree that money must, under any circumstances, be found for the entertainment of the Duke of Edinburgh at the public expense. This enthusiasm which is felt for Royalty, assuredly proceeding from no servile feeling, is a pleasant proof of the tenacity with which home associations are still cherished and valued. The son of the Queen is welcomed as a symbol and representative of the customs and institutions of England and there is both wisdom and good taste in the deand representative of the customs and institutions of England, and there is both wisdom and good taste in the determination to regard the Royal visit as a matter wholly unconnected with political questions. It is scarcely probable that when the Australian provinces hereafter become independent they will borrow from Europe the forms of hereditary monarchy; but it may be hoped that their history will be continuous, and exempt from the sudden break which has unfortunately alienated several generations of Americans from the country for which their ancestors only a century ago cultivated a cordial allegiance. If the Irish inhabitants of Victoria share in any degree the perverse prejudices of their countrymen in the United States, they have the good taste to suppress them in deference to the general feeling; but there

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account, to which the Council has assented. It is not surprising that the Upper House should regard with disfavour a grant which is intended as a censure on itself, and a protest against the decision of the Home Government. The contest between the two branches of the Legislature has lasted for several years, and Sir Charles Darling, as Governor, gave an active and irregular support to the Assembly. As it was admitted that public money could not be legally disbursed without the assent of both Houses, the local Government devised the singular plan of accepting bills for sums due to creditors, and of afterwards confessing judgment in a series of fictitious actions. The Treasurer then paid the amount, as if under stress of law, so that, as long as the system lasted, the authority of Parliament was, in all payments of public money, practically superseded. It is not the business of the Home Government to inquire too curiously into anomalies which may be introduced for special reasons into the local administration of the colonies; but whatever may be the respective rights and powers of Legislative Councils and Assemblies, it was evidently not the duty of the representative of the Crown to take part in a transparent evasion of constitutional law. Accordingly, Mr. Cardwell recalled Sir Charles Darling, whose error in judgment was at the same time justly attributed to excessive zeal for the tranquillity and prosperity of the colony. Sir H. Manners Sutton, who was appointed to the vacant office, has carried SUTTON, who was appointed to the vacant office, has carried out his instructions by observing perfect impartiality; but he has not succeeded in effecting a reconciliation between the belligerent Houses. The Assembly, for the purpose of honouring and rewarding the former Governor for his martyrdom, voted 20,000l. to Lady Darling; but the grant was, in the first instance, rendered inoperative by the rule that a public servant is prevented from receiving gifts for the performance of his duties. The Assembly could scarcely object to the application of a rule which is at the same time uniform and obviously expedient. The fiction by which the grant had been nominally made to the wife of the ex-Governor could in no degree affect the the wife of the ex-Governor could in no degree affect the policy or practice of the Imperial Government; but the technical objection to the grant has since been removed by the retirement of Sir C. Darling from the public service, involving his renunciation of the right to the pension which has lately been allowed to Colonial Governors. His former official superiors can therefore no longer claim any control over his actions, although they may probably retain the opinion that a functionary once appointed by the Crown ought to look to the Government alone for the reward of his services. The acceptance of a large sum of money from one of two contending parties throws a slur on the character of a high officer whose first duty was to hold the political balance absolutely even. The reward relates back to the time at which it was carned, and the exdisregard of duty. As a private person, Sir C. Darling has no need to ask the permission of the Crown to profit by the liberality of one branch of the Legislature of the colony which he lately governed; but it was not in a private but in a public capacity that he performed the acts which were censured by the Secretary of State, and which are now to be rewarded by the partners of his irregular procedure. The act which is in the present instance perhaps merely indelicate ought to be rendered illegal, and even penal, by express legis-It may be inexpedient to interfere with the grants of a Colonial Legislature, but a fine equal to the amount of the bribe might be justly imposed on the recipient.

The Home Government could not fail to mark its sense of the impropriety of the transaction, by the refusal of its assent to the measure, if the rule had not for good reasons been established that the colonies must be exclusively responsible for the conduct of their own affairs. If the Parliament of Victoria thinks fit to give the money of its constituents to a private person, the Imperial Government declines to interfere; and Sir II. Manners Sutton has, in obedience to the order of the Secretary of State, officially informed both Houses that Sir C. Darling no longer holds the position of a pensioner of the Crown, or of a claimant of a pension. The Imperial recognition of the self-government of the colony could scarcely be more complete, for the Secretary of State must be understood to disclaim all responsibility for an utterly indefensible measure. The Assembly has, on the receipt of the Governor's message, renewed the vote for the grant to Lady Darling, and the Council has refused to pass the Appropriation Bill by which the issue of the money would be authorized. While the Governor preserves his neutrality, his responsible advisers, representing the majority of the Assembly,

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are bent on overcoming the resistance of the Council, and in formal memorandum they have proposed to the Governor a dissolution, for the purpose of taking the opinion of the constituency on the Darling grant. A general election affords but an indirect method of exercising a pressure on the Council; nor are there Imperial precedents for an appeal to the people to support an overwhelming Parliamentary majority. The Assembly is resolved on a policy which it believes to be popular, and, except for the necessity of doing something, it would seem unnecessary to test the adhesion which might be taken for granted. The Ministers mysteriously assure the Governor that, if the vote of the Assembly is ratified by the constituency, they will regard the decision as final; and perhaps they may intend to hold out a threat of some revolutionary measure by which the resistance of the Council would be suppressed. As the Assembly is elected on a lower franchise than the Council, and for a shorter period, it can always command the support of the numerical majority; and its pretensions receive a kind of countenance from the analogy of the House of Commons, to which the House of Lords has always eventually deferred. The Governor has adopted the recommendation of his Cabinet; and, unless some compromise can be effected, a new election will be held. It seems that some members of the Council have intimated that the grant would receive fair consideration if it were separately proposed, instead of being included in a general Appropriation Bill. On the other hand, members in Victoria, as in England, object to unnecessary dissolutions, and it is possible that, to avoid personal inconvenience, the Assembly might incline to an amicable arrangement.

The quarrel is interesting chiefly because it exemplifies the inherent weakness of imitative constitutions. A King or Queen who reigns without governing is a remarkable product of unconscious political ingenuity, but an agent of the Crown who reproduces the same fiction in a colony presents a still more singular spectacle. The Governors of American States possess and exercise ample powers; and probably the Parliamentary Ministers of the colonies will practically appropriate to themselves the functions of their nominal superiors. By violent or peaceable transition it will also be necessary to make one of two Assemblies practically supreme. A Constitution in its teens which has produced several years' deadlock is evidently not, in all respects, the counterpart of its venerable prototype in the Northern hemisphere. The American Senate has the duty of representing the several States; but the Council of Victoria represents only a portion of the constituency which, as a whole, returns the Assembly. It may be confidently anticipated that the controversy will be settled by the triumph of the stronger party, and it is only to be hoped that the result will be attained without unnecessary bitterness of feeling.

## AMERICAN FINANCE.

HE Financial paragraph in the President's Message affords a curious illustration of Mr. Johnson's character. It is obvious that he has derived his policy in these matters from the able guidance of Mr. M'CULLOCH; but the PRESIDENT is far too independent and self-confident to use any reasoning but his own, and he has contrived to defend an unimpeachable position by statements and arguments which, to say the least, are open to a good deal of criticism. He very properly advocates the resumption of specie payments at the earliest possible time, and in order to make his case sufficiently telling he begins by taking for granted that every artisan who is paid in greenbacks loses all the difference of value between gold and paper dollars, and he adds the singular statement that the 700,000,000 dollars to which the circulation now approaches are equivalent only to 350,000,000 in gold; the fact being that, at the present quotations, the notes are worth just three-quarters of their coin equivalents, the difference between 350,000,000 and 525,000,000 being thrown in by way of rhetorical embellishment. Mr. Johnson also tells us that before the war the note circulation was only 200,000,000, and has risen to 700,000,000, and then proceeds to reason on the assumption that the existing in-flation is expressed by the contrast between these figures. If this were a sound way of presenting the case, it would be very difficult to understand why a currency so enormously in excess of the natural amount should only be depreciated twenty-five per cent. But the real facts, though remarkable, are not quite so astounding as Mr. Johnson makes them appear. Before the war the whole operative currency, including coin and notes, was about 300,000,000 dollars. The existing curLOCH has succeeded in getting rid of all inconvertible notes we shall have the best guarantee against their being used in payment of debt. In the interval we must trust to the honour or the prudence of Congress.

But if good faith is to be kept with the public creditor, the prospect of materially reducing the amount of debt becomes very small. The debt reached its highest point in August 1865, when the total was 550,000,000l. The corresponding amount in November 1867 was 498,000,000l., showing a reduction of 52,000,000l. Of this sum, however, the amount paid off since July 1867 has been but 4,000,000l.; and the estimated surplus available for the reduction of debt in the three quarters to July 1868 is only 200,000l., and for the year ending July 1869 not more than 1,800,000l. Unless,

year ending July 1869 not more than 1,800,000l. Unless, therefore, a vast diminution of expenditure is found practicable, it may be considered that the effort to pay off the accumulated war debt has spent itself in getting rid of less than a tenth of the amount. For the future the United

less than a tenth of the amount. For the future the United States may be regarded as burdened with a debt as permanent as those of European States, the principal of which is about 500,000,000l, and the charge for interest 26,000,000l. There is nothing in this beyond what a country with such a future as the United States may bear with ease, but the natural resistance which has been manifested to the continuance of the

oppressive taxation which has hitherto been endured destroys all likelihood of any further impression being made on the

On the protection question, as on many others, the Secretary to the Treasury is in advance of his party and his country. Without any emphatic declaration in favour of free trade, he shows himself decidedly adverse to further progress in protection. He points out the failure, even from the manufacturer's point of view, of the tariffs hitherto in force; and suggests that in the necessity of maintaining a high revenue the protected interests will find

maintaining a high revenue the protected interests will find a sufficient advantage without keeping the customs' duties at a higher point than that of maximum productiveness. Under existing circumstances, the great principle of free trade—to tax for revenue and not for protection—might be applied under conditions that would still leave a large amount of in-

under conditions that would still leave a large amount of incidental protection; and it is probably by some such gentle modifications in the tariff as Mr. M'CULLOCH hints at that the ultimate triumph of Free-trade doctrines in America must be achieved, if it is ever to be achieved at all. No trustworthy estimate, however, of the probable course of the United States in financial matters can be formed until it is seen whether the Secretarry to the Treasury will be able to defeat the great and, as it would seem at present, the preponderating strength of his opponents in Congress. Whatever may be the line of action of the party leaders in America, foreigners will do justice to the manliness and wisdom of Mr. M'Culloch's policy.

LONG VOYAGES.

LONG VOYAGES.

THERE is a steady and rapid increase in the number of English men and women who once or twice in the course of their lives have had to make sea voyages. It will be understood that by this we mean something more than the passage from Folkestone to Boulogne, from Harwich to Antwerp, or from Kingston to Holyhead. These short dealings with the great waters, multiplied as they have been by the national mania for swarming over the face of the earth, have no doubt added a vast contribution to the sum of human misery and waste. But they are so very different in degree from the longer voyages as to develop characteristics that amount to a difference of kind. A long voyage is no more like a short one than an oak is like an acorn. The short voyage is not much more than a passing accident. The other really involves for a considerable period of time a distinct and systematic scheme of life; and a very astonishing and wonderful scheme it is, as more and more people are constantly finding out. India now draws hundreds of persons every year who half, or even a quarter, of a century ago would as soon have dreamt of perpetrating a forgery or jumping off the house-top as of taking a journey of a few thousand miles. A lady with a couple of babies is despatched by the Peninsular and Oriental from Southampton almost as coolly as if one were seeing her off from Euston Square to Edinburgh or Birmingham. Or she will go to Australia in a sailing vessel, and pass some three or four months at a stretch upon the high seas. The voyage to America is looked upon as a mere bit of child's play, and American, if not English, ladies do habitually speak of the Atlantic Ocean in an openly contemptuous manner, as a simple ferry. The quantity of time, therefore, passed upon the waters by reasonable English men and women, must be looked upon as something enormous, and which is certain to become every year more enormous still. This is a very serious point, if we reflect upon the shortness of

principal of the debt.

rency (gold having been practically demonetized) is put at 680,000,000; so that, if all other matters had remained unaltered, 100 dollars in gold ought to be represented by 226 dollars

by repudiation. The best security for virtue is said to be the absence of temptation or opportunity, and when Mr. M'Cultouch has succeeded in getting rid of all inconvertible notes

680,000,000; so that, if all other matters had remained unaltered, 100 dollars in gold ought to be represented by 226 dollars in greenbacks. The market value of gold, however, is only 133; and the real exchangeable value of the present currency of the United States is greater than it was before the war in the ratio of 22 to 13. This, though not quite so extraordinary a case as Mr. Johnson would make out, is nevertheless startling enough to require some explanation. It will be remembered that while the war was still going on the actual depreciation of the United States notes in the market never kept pace (as it was expected to do) with the increase of nominal value; and the explanation then given was, that the operations of the war absorbed so much currency that the total amount required was largely in excess of what had

the operations of the war absorbed so much currency that the total amount required was largely in excess of what had sufficed in time of peace. Now that peace has returned, we still find the same phenomenon. The legal tender circulation, though still depreciated, is worth much more than it should be if the capacity of the country for currency had not increased. Instead of being amply supplied, as in 1860, with 300,000,000 of gold dollars, or their absolute equivalents, the United States, if they returned to specie payment, would, according to present prices, seem to require an

ment, would, according to present prices, seem to require an aggregate specie currency of not less than 526,000,000, that being the present gold value of all the bank notes afloat. To explain this, we can no longer fall back upon the dis-

that being the present gold value of all the bank notes affoat. To explain this, we can no longer fall back upon the disturbance caused by enormous purchases of war material, nor can it be accounted for on the assumption of an excessively active trade. Commerce in America, though it wonderfully escaped the crisis under which we suffered last year, is by no means active; and indeed Mr. McCullocu states in his Report that operations are not more extensive in 1867 than they were in 1860. And yet it is undeniable that, after every deduction for depreciation, the real value of the currency floated in America is 220,000,000 dollars beyond what it was before the war. Mr. McCullocu suggests an interpretation which is probably the correct account of the matter. He says that, in consequence of the disorganization produced by the war, credit operations may have been largely curtailed, and a necessity been occasioned for currency to effectuate the increased amount of cash transactions. Whether this be the true explanation or not, the policy of restoring the circulation to par, and re-establishing a specie standard, is enormously facilitated by this exceptional demand for notes. Instead of withdrawing the whole excess, amounting to 400,000,000, it will, under

whole excess, amounting to 400,000,000, it will, under present conditions, suffice to retire about half that amount. Even that would take four years, at the rate of 4,000,000 per

month prescribed by the existing statutes; and as it is likely that still more stringent restrictions will be placed by Congress on the discretion of the Secretary, it would be difficult to guess within what time the period of financial disturbance caused by the war will have been finally closed.

Mr. M'Culloch, however, stands firmly by his principles, notwithstanding the opposition which they encounter, and meets Congress with a fresh declaration of the necessity of with-

drawing the redundant circulation, of paying the principal of the debt in gold, and of reforming the whole system of taxation upon a revenue basis. Upon the maintenance of the national

faith the Secretary is most emphatic, and as yet he seems to

faith the Secretary is most emphatic, and as yet he seems to command a majority over the advocates of repudiation. The one legal point which General BUTLER and his friends have to put forward in support of their view is that the Acts of Congress, which expressly declared that the interest of the bonds should be payable in gold, were silent as to the mode of redeeming the principal. Mr. M'CULLOCH triumphantly demolishes this astute though not very creditable plea. At the time when the Acts referred to were passed, authority had only been given to issue 150 millions of greenbacks, which it was supposed would be redeemed long before the much larger amount of bonds then in circulation would mature for payment. The only danger that could at that time be feared by

ment. The only danger that could at that time be feared by the bondholders was that the paper money might be used in

the bondholders was that the paper money might be used in the interval for payment of interest; and a clause was inserted to exclude this apparent risk, while it was thought unnecessary and absurd to prohibit the payment of the principal of the bonds with legal tender notes, which were never expected to be issued, and, in fact, have not been issued to an amount compa-

rable with that of the funded debt. Nothing but the wholesale

manufacture of paper currency for the express purpose of defiauding the public creditor could suffice to carry out General Butler's scheme, and there seems every probability that Mr. M'Culloch's denunciation of the dishonest and shortsighted folly of such a course will, for some time to come at any rate, prevail with Congress over the temptation to get rid of debt

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life, and upon the character and significance of life on the sea. For to the majority of rational beings a voyage is, on the whole, merely so much deducted from the length and usefulness of our days. The barrenness of the waters is not more plain than the sterility of existence upon them. Your whole mental energies stagnate and slumber. Morally and intellectually there is an extraordinary and fatal suspension of all the usual activity. The various incentives which on land are so powerful lose all their fires and dwindle down to grey ashes. One is seized by a general conviction that nothing is worth while. Moral heroism loses all its flavour; the hero seems no bigger than other people, and other people seem but a sorry set of creatures. Poetic philosophers are very fond of comparing the lives of men to dreams, in which we only suppose that we see things, when in truth the The various incentives which on land are so powerful lose all their fires and dwindle down to grey ashes. One is seized by a general conviction that nothing is worth while. Moral heroism loses all list flavour; the hero seems no bigger than other people, and other people seem but a sorry set of creatures. Poetic philosophers are very fond of comparing the lives of men to dreams, in which we only suppose that we see things, when in truth the objects do not exist. After three or four days at sea we are enabled to understand the significance of this conception in a very much more perfect manner than is possible under ordinary conditions. As a man lies in his berth, listening to the creaking of the sailors, as they pull at ropes and canvas, he is mounfully pervaded by a general sense of the purely phantasmatic nature of the whole objective world. All that passes before him is no more than as the shedow of smoke. This is the invariable and intelligible result of a sudden, violent, and entire change in all the surrounding conditions of a man's life. We only recognise the substantial reality of what is familiar and usual. All the time we spend amid utterly strange and abnormal scenes appears, as soon as we have resumed the even tenor of our way, to have been pessed in a dream. Hence the unsubstantiality of sea-life to people accustomed to what the miles straight away from his house through fields and woods, and twelve miles back again by fetching a compass of some sort. On board ship he has a range of about a hundred and fifty or two hundred feet, and instead of the thousand subtle fragrances of woods and fields and hedges he has nothing but the nanseous smell of the kitchen, the oily hot smell of the engine, and the rank smell of the sea. A sense accustomed to "the rose-hung lanes of woody kent" is overturned by the funes of fat pork boiling for the dinner of the crew. The eye that ordinarily brings delight from the manifold beauties of colour and form of a pretty country is wearied by the blackish or live is the pro

time also, a thing with which they have but little part or lot. A little mild reading is the only intellectual process left to them. The passive reception of an infantine literary diet remains possible, but there must be no strong meat in any shape. It must be confessed that the persons who select the books for the libraries of some of our great steamboats evince a singularly nice appreciation of this, though possibly they are a little excessive in their zeal to meet the reduced capacity of their passengers. A man, just recovering from sea-sickness, walks feebly up to the bookcase in search of something which may furnish a light distraction to his mind, and he finds a big volume on the progress of missionary work in the island of Ceylon; an enormous history of the United States of America; the lives of some Baptist or Wesleyan

clergymen; and a thoroughly dirty copy of Temyson. Though a person of unaspected orthodoxy on land, yet at sea he campt disguise from himself that the continuance of paganism in Ceylon, and the slaughter of an occasional missionary there, are things of which he can endure the thought with a good deal of resignation. Again, deeply interested as he may be in America, yet somehow her history is not precisely a theme for which he feels any great attraction at the moment. Mr. Temyson, too, my be his favourite poet in his garden at home, but a big with an ever-present smell of soup, and an unceasing rolling and pitching, is not, he feels, the right place for Mariana and Chones and Lady Vere de Vere. Even if it were otherwise, the particular copy is so certain to be adorned with the pencil comments of previous readers as to furnish too many interruptions to placific enjoyment. It is highly exactious, when you are feebly kinding over Locksley Hall, to find rude uncritical annotations scrawled on all available margins, while a vigorous caricature of the captain of the ship is an unpleasing diversion to the reader of Ujusz. The fervent ejaculations of the pious missionaries of Ceylon an preferable to the frank exclamations of impetuous and incompetent commentators upon one's favourite authors. On the whole, a sage person will prefer to resign himself to the troubled stream of his sensations, rather than seek a literary relief which is so doubtfully satisfactory. This resignation may in time become strong enough to develop the highest pleasure that a vorge admits of—the pleasure of monotony. This is undoubtedly an equired taste, but when one's taste is adequately trained and strengthened, the burden of life sits ever so much more lightly and easily. Expecting nothing beyond the limited range of the daily routine, a man who can endure monotony is never disappointed. For organization on board of a good ship, if nothing else, has at least the merit of being regular, and of securing such results as it professes to secure. Mea veyages is the readiness with which deadly antipathies spring up in one's boson. Nobody who has ever been ten days at sea has failed to conceive a hearty dislike for one or two of his fellow-passengers. Its grounds are unimportant and inexplicable. We hate one man because he has a sour look upon his face, and another because he is so implacably hearty and hilarious. No possible line of conduct protects anybody against a deadly animosity of this kind. Accidentally we make up our minds that some one whom we meet daily in the bear-like promenades of deck is a snob, or a puppy, or a dolt. Everything that he does or does not confirms this original conviction. We fully believe him capable of any atrocity or folly—until at last the pilot comes on board to take the ship into the harbour, and then in an instant the sea-scales fall from our eyes, and we are ready to believe all good things of all men. things of all men.

#### SOCIAL CONDONATION.

OCCASIONALLY it happens that society is shocked by the revelation of a supposed moral blot in the past life of some man who has since made his way to fame and fortune, and to whom it is very unpleasant to have an attack made on the incidents of his own history. Some curious or malicious or indignant spectator at an awkward moment rakes aside a heap of ashes, and points out to the world, at the bottom of the heap, a transaction that has almost been forgotten. Very often the charge is a mistake or an exaggeration. But even if it were not, the public would be sorely perplexed to know how to treat so ancient and obsolete a delinquency. It seems unserned in the same of the s

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the result would be frequently that infinite injustice would be done. It may be said that, in the case of legal offences, no such condonation is known to the law, and that thieves and nurderers are often tried and punished long after their commission of the crime. This severity on the part of the English law is not really as great as it appears. Even in the case of criminal procedure lapse of time does operate as a barrier to protect the accused. It introduces the element of doubt, and no charge ever can be brought home to a man as long as reasonable doubt exists. Perhaps it would be more satisfactory if in the criminal law there were such a thing as a Statute of Limitations. Society, acting on different principles and for a different purpose, only introduces at a different stage of the inquiry the consideration which the law allows to come in before the inquiry is closed. As society is more sensitive and jealous than the law, and is concerned with suspicions rather than certainties, it is by no means an unfair or an unwise social principle to decline to enter on an examination of bygone affairs which cannot be safely or satisfactorily conducted, and which is likely in any case to do much damage even to innocent persons. On the whole it is better, except in extreme and clear cases, to refrain from calling on a man to justify himself against ancient social scandal.

It is inevitable that the operation of such a rule should frequently allow of the escape of many men and women who cannot be said to deserve to escape at all. Of course they do and must escape, but it is more to the benefit of the body social that they should go undetected and unpunished than that social inquisition should be permitted after a long interval of years. In this fallible world we can only make general rules, nor is it possible to deal out impartial and infallible justice to everybody. Rough and ready justice is the law of life. Nobody can look around him and fail to perceive that the best justice, it is to be a continual to perceive the

is nothing in the fact at variance with the usual course of human affairs.

The way, indeed, in which the world at all times exercises its privilege of condoning offences against morality is arbitrary and uncertain. One cannot feel sure when it will strike the culprit hard and when it will let him off easily. Very often it forgives the soonest the man who himself exhibits the least consciousness of disgrace, and who has the courage to bear himself boldly and defiantly under the blow he has received. Of all things, it dislikes a cur the most. Spirit and resolution, like charity, cover a multitude of sins; but meanness and pusillanimity are a cardinal blot upon character which neither women nor men ever forgive or forget. Singularly enough, the defects which society pardons with the greatest facility are not those which do it the least harm. It would be impossible to say that physical cowardice is as pernicious as moral, or that unchastity does not strike at the root of social progress far more than even moral cowardice. Fraud in a merchant or a lawyer is a more serious mischief than want of veracity in a soldier. Yet society, if we are to judge from the way it forgives, scarcely recognises the fact. It condones neither with reference to abstract rules of justice, nor with reference to its own better interests; but it does, collectively and as a whole, pretty much what all of us do in our own individual cases—it condones so as to suit its personal comfort and its ease. It resents but moderately a proneness to yield to obvious temptation; it does not require sublime sacrifices of self; and it treats the fail-

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ings of its members from a pleasant, easy-going, genial point of view. Condonation is accordingly a matter of favour rather than of justice or of right. And, as the world is constituted, favours fall to those who are planted in the path of favour. There is and ever will be a general inclination to let down easily people who have friends, and to be fearless and merciless to those who have none. Of course it is very sad that it should be so, but it is not sadder than many other things in life; and after all it is indubitably true, as we read in the Bible, that one sinner has never any right to complain of the bounty extended to another. The only real standard by which condonation of any kind is to be tested is the consideration whether sterner or stricter reckonings would not purify and raise the social body. And, if one thing more than another is clear, it is that it is the interest of society to appear to condone hastily rather than to sanction the notion that charges can be satisfactorily dealt with if they are kept till they are stale.

THE DECLINE AND FALL OF GOVERNMENT IN ENGLAND.

THE DECLINE AND FALL OF GOVERNMENT IN ENGLAND.

WE forget when it was that the Duke of Wellington put his famous question—"How, my Lords, is the Queen's Government to be carried on?"—nor is the date material. It may be said that the problem has answered itself—solvitur ambulando. We are not reduced to entire anarchy. The Courts are open, the Judges hold the Assizes, the Sovereign meets the Estates of the Realm, Parliament assembles and adjourns, Administrations come and Administrations go, and the State works on for ever. But this is not what the Great Duke had in mind. He asked, "How is Government to be carried on? How is the State to be ruled?" The Duke of Wellington did not so much anticipate an immediate

come and Administrations go, and the State works on for ever. But this is not what the Great Duke had in mind. He asked, "How is Government to be carried on? How is the State to be ruled?" The Duke of Wellington did not so much anticipate an immediate cataclysm as a gradual abeyance of rule and authority and power. What he looked at was the Imperial State and realm of England as a Government; and as a mere matter of history he recognised a body governing and a system administered. It was immaterial, or comparatively so, who held the helm, so that there was a helm and a pilot, and the ship of the State answered to the helm. What he had his doubts about was whether, in the future which alarmed him, there was any provision for educating or employing the able-seaman or able-statesman class. The last twenty years of England have produced an unpleasant conviction that his ominous forebodings have been to a disagreeable extent justified. What we cannot help remarking as the feature in our existing State system is, the decline and fall of the art of government, and the decay of a governing class. There is not in the corporate body the recuperative force, the rallying energy of the past; the restorative energy of nature seems to be exhausted.

Patimur senium; we seem to have passed the climacteric of empire. We can neither endure government nor govern ourselves. Possibly—or, rather, actually and in fact—the old governing powers had become no longer suitable to the new state of things. The great Whig families and the great Tory families, the oligarchy which had ousted the Crown, were unsuitable instruments for the work henceforth to be done. But hitherto they had done the work; and just the same work had to be done, only by other organizations. It was not that in 1832 the old duties of government had not to be discharged, but that other hands must discharge them. The result of the last revolution has been very different from what its authors intended. Not only have the old sort of governors been superseded, but the work mind has become saturated with this illusion. To say this is only a travesty of what has some truth in it. We do live, and perhaps always have lived, here in England, from hand to mouth. We have an unwritten Constitution, and an unwritten code of law. We dislike theories, and despise systems; and we prefer the floating, balancing view of things. But we go further than this, and persuade ourselves that there is some inscrutable, unintelligible compensation pendulum regulating and directing the complex machinery of the State, which always keeps it going with a self-adjusting precision and regularity; and yet more, that the chronometer is constructed of indestructible materials. It is, therefore, just as well for us that such a crisis as the present should occur, and that we should be compelled to look into all this marvellous piece of clockwork. It ticks rather feebly just now, and gives ugly groans and jerks; and it almost looks as if the jewelled escapement, and pinions, and adjustments, and all the rest of it, were coming to a dead stop.

Perhaps it will be said that we have left the government to the wrong class, and that in replacing the great families by the great middle-classes we only exchanged dotage for raw and untrained apprentices. Whether the middle-classes had in them the capacity for government may well be doubted; but the inquiry is idle now that we have cashiered the middle-classes, and handed over the government to Household Suffrage. Had the rule of the middle-classes, or, to put it in another form, had the system of government established, or attempted to be established, five-and-thirty years ago, worked, it would not have been superseded by the measure of last Session. Because it did not work, because its instruments failed in all capacity for doing work, it fell. It was not from par-

ticular love for a new political experiment, but from experience of the failure of the existing state of things, that most people welcomed, and almost all submitted to, the change simply because it was a change. The old class of statesmen who had been brought up in the traditionary school which held that a Goremment meant a governing body died out with Peel and Wellington on the one hand, and with Earl Grey on the other. Lord Melbourne knew very well what government meant: so did Lord Palmerston; but, for various reasons, they did not think proper to enforce their knowledge and convictions on popular acceptance. They did not compel their principles of government to be obeyed. In a sort of way, Earl Russell is not altogether deficient in a theoretical perception that there is such a craft as that of government, and that there is such a political duty as that of ruling, but his temper is too intriguing and his mind too narrow to permit him to act on his convictions. Mr. Gladstone possesses many of the constituents of a ruler—education, experience, patriotism, and honesty. But he is so singularly constituted as to be unequal to the strife of active life. Every Session sees him commence work under the most promising conditions; every Session has had to chronicle some deplorable loss of temper, discretion, and judgment. On the side of the existing Government matters are even worse. It has been reserved for the Earl of Derby and Mr. Disraeli openly to announce—and to base their appeal for public confidence, or at least for public impunity, on the fact—that for years and years they had secretly seen the duty and necessity of a certain policy, but for years and years had studiously concealed and suppressed these deep and earnest convictions, and had done everything possible to make the people of England believe that they held the very opposite of what they knew what was right, and deliberately carried on an organized hypocrisy, both to their own followers and to the country. That such conduct is treason to the most ele

hold. In other words, our present rulers have avowed that they knew what was right, and deliberately carried on an organized hypocrisy, both to their own followers and to the country. That such conduct is treason to the most elementary duties of Government requires no proof.

Yet, though it has been reserved to the Derby Administration to bring out in the most forcible instance the abeyance of the first principles of government, it must be conceded that their treatment of Reform is only the extreme example of many precedents. If government means anything, it implies the existence of a policy, and an honest intention to carry it out. George III. and in the old time before them William III., and Cromwell, too, had certain declared views. These views might or might not be right, but they were enforced, or at any rate attempted to be enforced. They were honourably held and honourably followed out. The Balance of Power, the American War, Catholic Emancipatios, the resistance to Napoleon, whatever the matter in hand was, vigorous hands and strong minds, with or without judgment, adopted a certain policy and enforced it. It is said that George III. was only justified in his obstinacy and honesty because the people were with him. How much, in his case and in the case of Pitt, the exhibition of a strong will on the part of the governors conciliated the acquiescence of the governed, or attracted popularity to their measures simply because they exhibited strength and will, is another matter. But, at any rate, the fact remains. Government existed. But of late years, on each and every one of the great subjects affecting the commonwealth, it is assumed to be the day of the Government is to be a clerk of registration. A policy must frame itself if it can; if it cannot, we must scramble on without a policy. Hence, instead of governing, the duty of an Administration is held to be to order Commissions of Inquiry-which are, in fact, private and irresponsible Committees—on Codification, International Law, the Punishment of Death,

deputations, and the promptings of Leagues and Committees of Public Safety, the opinion of the Peckham Omnibus, or the addied of the Marylebone Vestry or Codgers' Hall, is supposed to be the highest and most solemn function of Her Majesty's Ministers. And we are at this moment experiencing what comes of this policy, it is not too much to say that Fenianism would never have attained is present hideous proportions had the responsible guardians of the law been equal to their duties. The Clerkenwell outrage, the Machester murder, and the present Reign of Terror are distinctly to be traced to the connivance which the Government produces of the time and the responsible guardians of the law been during the murder of Brott and the victims of the Powder Plot of last week. No doubt the circumstances of the time are exceptional. England and Ireland are flooded by the unemployed rascaldom of a whole continent. In addition to the presence of the unattached instruments of Continental revolution we have among us the trained experts in American rapine and marauding. The secondrelism of Europe and America has been swept into our ample bosom. But, as it happened, our domestic demagogues were of the coarsest and most contemptible type; for, as it is doing Mr. Beales too much honour to class him with Wilkes or Hunt or Thelwall, so Finlan and Lacraft and Odger and Conolly sink below the level of all that we have yet experienced of small sedition. The situation was at one one of extreme danger, considering the atrocious antecedents of some of the conspirators; but at the same time one most easy to deal with by reason of the mean and sordic character of the prominent organs of sedition. All that we have a ket experienced of small sedition. The situation was at one one of extreme danger, considering the atrocious antecedents of some of the conspirators; but at the same time one most easy to deal with by reason of the mean and sordic character of the prominent organs of sedition. All that we have a situation was at one one of extreme d

#### BABY-ADOPTION.

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THE distribution of children—as of other good things in this world—has long been a puzzle to thoughtful minds. The Psalmist who counted them amongst the greatest earthly blessings was perplexed at seeing that the ungodly had children at their desire. Our modern point of view is different, but a walk through a back street in London always causes a somewhat similar astonishment. Children seem to abound in any neighbourhood in inverse ratio to the means of supporting them. What statistics might say we know not; but to a cursory observer it seems that the poorer the districts, the larger the families. In the thoroughly miscrable regions, where the streets answer the purpose of nursery, they swarm with small girls carrying still smaller girls in their arms, and with dirty little boys of precocious impudence. Indeed some economists have tried to make out that there is some necessary connexion between the extreme poverty and the prolific powers of a population, and that the maxim of "the more the merrier" is carried out most completely where it seems least appropriate. Of some of the inferences which have been hence deduced, we need not speak. Swift's grim facetiousness as to the children in Ireland is rather overcharged, even as a satire, for the squeamish tastes of the present day. His humour is too highly flavoured when he dilates upon the fact that "a young healthy child well nursed is, at a year old, a most delicious, nourishing, and healthy food, whether stewed, roasted, baked, or boiled;" when he proves that "the carcass of a good fat child will make four dishes of excellent nutritive meat," and dwells upon the advantages

of converting the skins into "gloves for ladies and summer boots for fine gentlemen." The irony is a trifle too strong for our stomachs, and yet, if he had lived at the present day, he might have discovered some hints for enlarging his amiable satire. We, indeed, have found out various methods for concealing unpleasant ideas under a more taking phraseology. In the American war, we smiled at the new and ingenious periphrases which were discovered for the old-fashioned term of running away. There was a whole vocabulary of pleasant phrases, such as falling back upon supports, drawing the enemy on, and executing strategic movements. We have now discovered an equally ingenious mode of describing methods for diminishing the superfluous population. Nothing can have a pleasanter sound than the adoption of children. It is a term for which Mr. Squeers might have been thankful when he was endeavouring to draw an increased supply of Smikes to Dotheboys Hall. It calls up visions of benevolent old bachelors, or perhaps childless couples, seeking a new outlet for the abundance of their benevolent emotions. Social philosophers have lately recommended that there should be increased legal facilities for so admirable a custom. Marriage, too, we are told, is daily becoming more difficult in the higher ranks. A disconsolate bachelor has published in the last number of Praser's Magozine a lamentation over the expenses which have limited expenses of the ceremony at 500-f, and pathetically declare that, although in his present condition he can enjoy every confloring the strategies of the ceremony at 500-f, and pathetically declare that, although the interpretable age. In what way this evil may be remedied is a question upon which we need not enter; but it is plain that it is not likely to disappear rapidly, if indeed it does not increase. We may assume then that, in the upper classes who necessarily look forwards to growing old in the single state, a large number of these persons are of an affectionate disposition, and would be legal

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be certain of punishing him. If a candidate gives a voter five sovereigns for his vote, the bribery is unmistakeable. If he spends large sums in charity after his election, it is possible that he may be doing a noble and becoming action. Adoption is to the simple traffic in which Mrs. Winsor was an adept what the finer forms of corruption are to the gross and inartistic distribution of hard cash. The difficulty of discovering either crime depends upon the same principle. The briber and the receiver of bribes are equally interested in concealing the crime in which they are the only participators. The natural and the adoptive parents have the same motive for concealing the true nature of their transaction, the unlucky child whose interests are at stake being unable to make any effectual remonstrance. Everything that we can detect may have the most unimpeachable appearance, and it is one by which the most infamous persons may cover themselves as conveniently as the virtuous. The late case proves that there are mothers who are quite ready to pay ten pounds, and a handsome suit of clothes, to get a baby off their hands, and who have the strongest motives for asking no questions afterwards. The fact is quite enough to attract any one who happens to be unscrupulous enough to make a clear profit of a few pounds at the price of easing a child's path out of this world; and we have sufficient reasons for supposing that people whose morality stands at the special height thus defined are by no means rare in this or in any other metropolis.

other metropolis.

It is a good deal easier to denounce such a system than to say how it can be effectually regulated. Its growth illustrates a principle with which we have good reason to be familiar. We grow mealy-mouthed a great deal faster than we become virtuous. We discover new and ingenious modes of dressing up old sins to make a very fair imitation of virtue with surprising facility. In the old ballad, a gentleman who wishes to get rid of an inconvenient baby knows no better way of doing it than putting it on a fire in the presence of a nurse, and raking the coals over it. If any one was to be guilty of such a proceeding at the present time, his folly would be quite as conspicuous as his wickedness. He would be like a murderer who should knock out his victim's brains with a club instead of administering some of the poisons which we owe to the progress of science; or rather, like a commonbrains with a club instead of administering some of the poisons which we owe to the progress of science; or rather, like a commonplace rogue who picks pockets instead of getting up a bubble company. Every increase of civilization increases the facilities for one side as well as for the other; the virtuous can only just keep nhead of the rogues. The simple fact of the increased crowding of great masses of population gives an admirable chance for the vicious classes who thrive below the surface of society and flow together in great cities. The mother may disappear for a time in the crowd without her next neighbours asking any questions, and the dropping out of view of a few babies more or less is not likely to excite any particular interest in London. Even in a country place Mrs. Winsor carried on her trade for some time without detection; but a Mrs. Winsor who took advantage of the wider opportunities for concealment and escape in London might have kept up a larger business connexion, and roused much less attention—especially if she had been sufficiently educated to adopt the proper phraseology. She and escape in London might have kept up a larger business connexion, and roused much less attention—especially if she had been sufficiently educated to adopt the proper phraseology. She might, indeed, have suffered from the counterbalancing difficulty which professional people generally find in the metropolis—that, namely, of attracting due notice in the crowd. This, however, which is a serious hindrance to young medical men and others, appears to have been completely surmounted in businesses which have no scruple about advertising. Every means is provided by the public spirit of some newspaper proprietors for giving the widest notoriety to the class who eke out their living by taking care of infants, and receiving expectant mothers in want of concealment. No one whose talents lie in that direction need be afraid of his or her talents remaining in obscurity. It would certainly be a discouragement to the trade if this means of bringing it home to the bosom of every family could be checked; and it is perhaps not too much to hope that those who now encourage it will see that, on the whole, they are taking rather a dirty way of making a few on the whole, they are taking rather a dirty way of making a few shillings. Perhaps they were deceived by the delicate language employed; if so, we may venture to hope that their eyes will be opened by recent disclosures, and that they will not denounce a practice in one column, whilst they give it every facility in another. A more systematic investigation into the circumstances another. A more systematic investigation into the circumstances under which so many infants cease to trouble the persons who are burdened with their care might perhaps occasionally exert a more direct and powerful influence; but so long as there are so many persons with a strong interest in carrying on this detestable trade, and every means of making their reciprocal wants known to each other, it must be difficult to supply any effectual check. At present people who have a child to dispose of seem to have ample opportunity of finding persons ready to accept the charge; and when the transfer has been effected, there is very little chance of detecting the final results of the transaction. ing the final results of the transaction.

#### MR. GLADSTONE AND "JANNOCK."

A DMIRATION is not the word to apply to Mr. Gladstone among his constituents in South Lancashire, for admiration implies some sort or degree of sympathy. We can only admire what is not altogether removed from the level of our own commonplace standing. When we get to the Immensities and Eternities, the boundless fields of space and the unmeasurable depths of time, the Encyclopædias and the

Kosmos, we can only stand silent and, awestruck, contemplate. Such is the spectacle of Mr. Gladstone full and overflowing. He has had a few months—no, it is only a few weeks—to repair the volume of his stream, and on Wednesday he poured out the copious flood of his eloquence, his knowledge, and his acquirements in an amazing, rushing, gushing torrent of pantology which takes away one's very breath at the stupendous and oceanic vastness of his powers. The framers of the Oldama address certainly used the right word—though it is not the usual title of Almighty God—when they prayed that "the All-Wise might long spare" their "brilliant" guest. Omniscience, and nothing else, was the subject-matter concerned. To say what Mr. Gladstone talked about would take a great deal more time than to say what he did not talk about. After the classical fashion, he came out with a trilogy. In the morning he received an address, and answered it with fluency and fulness. In the afternoon he opened—no, he assisted at the inauguration of—a Mechanics' Institute, and he only went through the few and easy subjects which make up the education of mankind under all forms of civilization. In the evening he distributed prizes to students of the Art and Science School, and availed himself of the opportunity of taking up any dropped stitches in his previous orations; and he concluded this busy and happy day by touching with fulness and freedom on the duties and responsibilities, the past, present, and future of this country, and of every class, order, trade, and profession in it, not only in their several canacities and stations with fulness and freedom on the duties and responsibilities, the past, present, and future of this country, and of every class, order, trade, and profession in it, not only in their several capacities and station, but in wide and eccumenical relations to the whole human race in all that concerns this world and the next. And as though three eeches in one day, going through Trivium and Quadrivium, and speeches in one day, going through Iriviam and Quaaricum, and the whole curriculum of instruction, were not enough to exhaust his voluble and versatile genius, Mr. Gladstone on the following day delivered two more orations on purely political subjects. In the first, delivered at Ormskirk under the form of an autobiographical sketch, he neatly reviewed the whole Parliamentary history of the last thirty-five years by way of a general sketch, introductory to a particular analysis of the contest on the Reform Bill of last Session, while in his Southport speech he went over all the topics of the day, and all the foreign, colonial, and domestic relations of the country, with especial relation to the Fenian conspiracy and the Irish question.

spiracy and the Irish question.

To give a summary or condensation of what Mr. Gladstone said would require a mind as capacious as his own; it is only by a dry and skeleton sort of index that we can give a notion of the universality of his genius. The syllabus of the triform lecture at Oldham would be something like this:—Mr. Gladstone's opinion of himself; of Lancashire in general, and Oldham in particular; of Free-trade; of the French Trenty and Mr. Cobden; of the Reform Act; of education; of Ireland; of public economy; of private spendthriftness; of education bis; of Fenianism and Clerkenwell; of Ireland bis; of Mr. Gladstone bis; of education again; of education general; of education special; of education as a process of (1) refining, (2) expanding, (3) elevating, and (4) consolidating character; of self-help; of instruction; of relaxation and amusements; of a billiard-table; of French and other tongues; of the English language; of the analogy between the English language and the English Constitution; of the history of England; of the literature of England; of all other history; of all other literature and history; of natural history; of phytology, England; of the literature of England; of all other history; of all other literature and history; of natural history; of phytology, dendrology, anthology, ornithology, and entomology in general and particular; of Providence and first causes; of eyes and no eyes; of the comperative advantages and disadvantages of town and country life; of the Smoke Act and pollution of rivers; of Mr. Platt; of Mr. Gladstone again; of the English Universities, public schools, middle schools; of popular education; of primary education; of religious education; of denominational education; of secular education; of national education; of co-operative stores, and co-operative factories; of temperance societies; of Sunday regulation; of strikes; of restraint of industry; of capital; of labour; of machinery; of foreign competition; of taste; of art; of law human and divine; of Providence generally. As near as we can make out, here were seventy-one distinct and separate topics treated by this exuberant teacher. Mr. Gladstone's Septuagint of subjects requires seventy times seven commentators. Just as the Master of the Sentences in fulness of time was followed by Aquinas with the Privage and Seconds as Light and the seconds as the light and the seconds as the second as t of the Sentences in fulness of time was followed by Aquinas with his Prima and Secunda and Secunda Secundae to illustrate him in his Prima and Secunda and Secunda Secunda to illustrate him in a constantly expanding cycle and epicycle of gloss, commentary, and distinction, proof, confutation and harmony, so it is reserved for the future to produce a Summa which shall bring Mr. Gladstone's condensed and elaborated wisdom into a series which for general use can hardly be less bulky than the compass of twenty moderate folios. At any rate we must decline the task. It is not given to every man to be as Alexander Humboldt, or Magliabecchi, the Advischle Guichter as converted moderate of gradition and

given to every man to be as Alexander Humboldt, or Magliabecchi, or the Admirable Crichton, or any other monster of erudition and capacity. We retire; for, if we were to attempt further analysis of the Oldham orations, another Ossa beyond this Pelion would remain in the terrible task of scaling the heights of the two political addresses which seconded the small talk of Oldham.

At first we were disposed to adhere implicitly to one Mr. Scholes's eulogium of Mr. Gladstone at Oldham, who observed "that Mr. Gladstone was a gentleman of whom they were all proud, and that, as a Lancashire man, he was jamnock to the backbone." About our pride in Mr. Gladstone we had no difficulty. Most honestly and sincerely we are proud of Mr. Gladstone; he does us—that is, he does his country—credit; and often as we have

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bad occasion to differ from him, it is only because we are so good that we are also jealous of him. And then when Mr. Scholes went on to observe that Mr. Gladstone was "janneck" dist it is est, we quite saw the force of this remarkable epithet, especially as we had not the elightest conception what it meant. We deemed it to be some endearing and playful epithet which, in the dialect of Tim Bobbin, conveyed some superlative praise, equivalent such a triangular oration cannot but prompt, sent us to Haliwell's Archaic and Provincial Dictionary, when, to our horror, as the extreme confusion of Mr. Gladstone's sly friend Scholes, we find this strange interpretation—" Jannocks. Outen bread made into hard and coarse large loaves. North Commty." Does Mr. Scholes call this backing his friend? Has Mr. Gladstone deserved this severe fate, that his luminous oration should be typified by oaten leaves—bread of oats, the food of English horses and Scotch Christians, or Calvinists, at any rate—and made into learnes hard, coarse, and large? Does Mr. Scholes mean that he ad Oldham in general found all this divine talk of the late Chaecellor of the Exchequer to be not only large—about which there outled be no question—but hard and gritty, coarse and laidgestible? We are quite ashmued of Lancashire. Or niker, perhaps it is our inability to enter into the Lancashire and what Mr. Halliwell, or any other effeminate and luxurious Southron, might consider coarse, is perhaps naturally fitted to the more vigorous and healthful digestion of Oldham. Ota-cake slack-laked, and all the bran in it, may be ambrosin in Lancashire; and just as an Esquinaux might salute his bride as a lovely lump of bibber, so, after all, Mr. Gladstone may, to the North country itse, be appropriately and lovingly saluted as a lovely lump of bibber, so, offer all, Mr. Gladstone may to the North country itse, be appropriately and lovingly saluted as a lovely lump of bibber, so, offer all, Mr. Gladstone his mother and continued to the second of the second of the seco about Mr. Gladstone. The razor is too keen, too fine in polish and temper, for the coarse work of pioneering through the tangled brakes of political life. All that we "pray the All Wise" is that the memories of this excellent appearance of Mr. Gladstone at Oldham in December may not be effaced, as has always been the case hitherto, by an outbreak of storm and violence and petulance about the time of the March winds. We must own to some fears. The three speeches at Oldham seem to have told on Mr. Gladstone's temper. The usual effects of lashing his tail for so many hours

came out in the noble creature; and in the two political speeches he very nearly, if not quite, relapsed into his Parliamentary attitude of defiance and suspicion. His own talk seems to have been at last too much for even Mr. Gladstone, and, among many things well and wisely said, there was here and there conjured up a phantom of possible wrong—as, for example, in the suggested possibility of the Fenians not getting justice done them—which in any other speaker we should have denounced as undignified and unworthy ad captandum talk that would be mischievous were it not almost silly.

#### WESTMINSTER PLAY-1867.

WESTMINSTER PLAY-1867.

THE Brothers of Terence was represented for the first time on a memorable occasion—the funeral of Æmilius Paullus—and was accompanied, however strange it may seem, by music of a grave and solemn cast. It was as if at the "Great Duke's" funeral a play by Congreve or Sheridan had been accompanied by the "Dead March in Saul." When indeed the comedy was repeated, the fashion of the music was changed for strains of a more congenial kind; and we may fairly infer that the first representation was not the most successful. It is a trite observation that an undertaker and his men returning from a funeral usually reflect a lively image of "tipsy mirth and jollity"; and perhaps the vespillones of Rome may have been highly entertained at the "first night" of the Brothers. But we can scarcely imagine the general audience to have partaken of their satisfaction on such an occasion. The King in Hamlet, indeed, applauds his own advoitness in combining "mirth in funeral and dirge in marriage." Yet such tragical mirth seems to demand a long apprenticeship in the funeral-furniture business.

The King in Hamlet, indeed, applauds his own adroitness in combining "mirth in funeral and dirge in marriage." Yet such tragical mirth seems to demand a long apprenticeship in the funeral-furniture business.

As a Westminster Play, the Brothers was enacted by the scholars of St. Peter's College in 1759. Three months before the December of that year the news had arrived in London of the fall of Quebec and the death of Wolfe. The selection of the play had probably no reference to these events, but they did not fail to be duly mentioned in the Prologue. That Prologue, in elegiac verse, was written by Robert Lloyd, "an old Westminster," and afterwards an under-master in Westminster School, but at the date of his verses editor of the St. James's Magazine; and a few years later—for Lloyd "had a wonderful alacrity in sinking "—like poer Dick Purden, a "bookseller's hack." Lloyd, however, was unquestionably a man of uncommon ability. Cowper, his school-fellow, describes him as "heir sole and single of dear Mat Prior's easy jingle"; and Churchill and Colman, his schoolmates also, have borne their tribute to his scholarship and his talents. His papers in the Comnoisseur, where Lloyd had for colleagues Bonnel Thornton, the elder Colman, and Cowper, may still be read with some satisfaction; but his English verse has gone out of fashion, and his plays are "very tolerable and not to be endured."

The Brothers, like all the Roman Comacdia Togata, was of Greek origin; but, if titles may be accepted as guides, Terence must, in composing it, have departed widely both from Diphilus's Synapotimescontes and from the Commorientes—Plautus's version of the Greek comedy. By no device or surmise of editors will the title of Dyers-Together fit itself to the plot of the Adelphi. So far from "dying together" the dramatis personæ show themselves fully disposed to live together on better terms than before—in short, to be happy ever after. There is, indeed, a whisper that Menander, or an uncle of his, wrote a comedy called Adelphoi, and this

with Lucilius.

Descended from two or more fathers, the Adelphi itself is the parent of a very numerous effspring. From it are derived many of the scenes and incidents in Molière's L'École des Marie, and in Baron's L'École des Pères. Shadwell's Squire of Alsatia also is built on Terence's foundation. But the polished Roman would be shy of acknowledging a descendant whose proper region at Rome would have been the Suburra, as in London it was Billingsgate.

Voltaire awards to the École des Maris the palm over the Adelphi: but, excellent critic as Voltaire could be when his prejudices were asleep, he is often an unfair one when they are awake. Of the Brothers, he says, that it furnished Molière with little more than the bare idea of the École des Maris; that in the Roman play there is scarely any intrigue, while in the French one the intrigue is comic, interesting, and delicate. He contrasts the superiority of the female characters in Molière with the Sostrata, Canthara, and invisible Pamphila of Terence—quite forgetting, or at least omitting to remember, the immense advantage enjoyed by the French dramatist in having

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his female characters performed by women—a privilege denied to the ancient stage. Had Voltaire been writing of Diphilus and his Synapothnescontes, he would very probably, in his patriotic zeal, have also forgotten that women at Athens were kept in almost oriental seclusion, and that if the poet had put on his stage such dramatis personæ as the Isabelle and Leonore of Molière's École, all Athens would have been in arms against the daring innovator, and Diphilus might have considered himself lucky if he got off with a fine, in place of being banished or even hemlocked for Atheism.

But so far from the plot of the École des Maris being more "interesting and comic"—it is more delicate on the whole—than that of the Adelphi, the very reverse is the fact. Of all extant Terentian comedies this is the most carefully and ingeniously contrived. In the Self-Tormentor the fable really terminates with the third act; in the Andrian the episode of Charinus is an excrescence; the catastrophe of the Eunuch is tame. The plot of the Stepmother indeed has always been justly applauded for its simplicity. But simplicity of plot is at best a negative virtue, and one which, if imputed to them, neither Sophocles nor Shakspeare would have regarded as a compliment. The intrigue of the Adelphi, on the contrary, is sufficiently complicated for interest in

and one which, if imputed to them, neither Sophocles nor Shakspeare would have regarded as a compliment. The intrigue of the Adelphi, on the contrary, is sufficiently complicated for interest in its changes, and, by general consent, is well sustained through at least four acts. A falling off in the fifth act has been frequently noted by critics. We shall allege reasons presently for differing from them on that point.

Is there no improbability in the plot of L'École des Maris?—dramatic improbability we mean, for many matters unlikely in common life are probable enough on the stage. In Molière a father devises by his will to two superannuated guardians his two daughters as their future wives. This is even worse than the bequest of Portia by Belmont's addle-pated sire, since he at least gave his daughter, through the caskets, a chance of mating to her mind. These guardians are a very sorry exchange for the rustic and rigid Demea and the urbane and indulgent Micio of Teranca. Portia by Belmont's addle-pated sire, since he at least gave his daughter, through the caskets, a chance of mating to her mind. These guardians are a very sorry exchange for the rustic and rigid Demea and the urbane and indulgent Micio of Terence. Again, in the Roman play, the brothers Æschinus and Ctesiphon display naturally the results of their opposite breeding; too much laxity and too much strictness have alike injured, without indeed destroying, their moral natures. There is something extremely touching in the gratitude of the scapegrace Ctesiphon towards his brother Æschinus. There is some nobility in the brotherly zeal of Æschinus in forwarding Ctesiphon's wishes, though it be zeal misplaced; and there is also a genuine and deep vein of filial love in him. They are not by any means model young men, but there is in each of them the smatch of a gentleman. The Isabelle and Leonore of the École are again a sorry exchange for these lads, idle as they are. As little for distinctness or development of character can the old men Ariste and Sganarelle be put on a level with Demen and Micio. The Adelphi held its position as a favourite play at Rome long after its author's death. We find Varro's opinion of it in the meagre sketch of the life of Terence by Suetonius, "Adelphorum principium Varro etiam præfert principio Menandri."

Where Molière comparatively failed, it was not likely that Baron would succeed. The first act of L'École des Pères is a tolerably close and not inelegant version of the corresponding act in the Adelphi. But Baron's old men, Telamon and Alcée, are little, if at all, more than the conventional old gulls of the stage; and his Clarice and Pamphile, considering the advantage of being performed by women, are scarcely less sketchy than the Sostrata and Canthara of the Roman comedy. Whatever may be the case with the gravity of Cæcilius, the art of Terence, so far as the Brothers is concerned, has not been equalled by either Baron or Molière.

Molière.

The Adelphi we have already described as the father of a The Adelphi we have already described as the father of a numerous offspring. Besides direct importation, it has furnished scenes to plays having entirely dissimilar plots. Diderot, in his Père de Famille, had an eye upon Demea and Micio in his characters of Mons. D'Orbesson and Le Commandeur. In the Choleric Man, Cumberland, obligingly termed by Goldsmith, in Retaliation, "the Terence of England," has formed upon the same model his Manlove and Nightshade—one the easy-going, the other the choleric man; and Nightshade's two sons are reflections of Æschinus and Ctesiphon. Micio and Demea indeed are the perpetual types from which stage fathers have ever since been cast. Sometimes, as in Terence, they are distinct persons, sometimes they are combined. which stage fathers have ever since been cast. Sometimes, as in Terence, they are distinct persons, sometimes they are combined. Old Knowell, in *Every Man in his Humour*, is Micio with an infusion of Demea; he has a touch of the disciplinarian in his general allowance for youthful indiscretions. It is quite unnecessary to multiply examples. Their name is legion. The last direct employment of the Terentian fathers that we recollect was in a comedy, the *Rose Feast*, produced at Drury Lane Theatre about forty years ago; Terry was the strict, Dowton the indulgent, father.

In regarding the fifth act of the Adelphi as falling below its In regarding the fifth act of the Adelphi as falling below its precursors, we think that critics have not quite caught the author's meaning. Terence, in our opinion, did not intend to represent Demea's conversion from a too strict to a too easy father as real. His promises to let his son take his own course for the future is a mere bravado or satire at Micio's expense. The old Adam of vigilance is not dead in him. He hints very intelligibly that, although he will not dictate to, he will be always most happy to advise, his sons. What he thinks of Micio's system of training touth he can in reiterates in his constitution of the contraction of the contrac youth, he again reiterates in his caustic comment on the services of the slave Syrus. Again, his humorous but inconvenient revenge on Micio is prompted more by anger at his own discomfiture in respect of Ctesiphon than by any change in his own disposition,

or in his own theory of education. He uses, or rather abuses, his brother's good nature to saddle him with divers hardships—with a wife old and poor, no slight nuisance for a confirmed and cozy bachelor of sixty-five; with loss of land, as a gift to a man who has no claims on him; with loss also of two, probably valuable, slaves, whom Demea almost compels him to emancipate; and finally, with what is perhaps the unkindest cut of all to one of his temper, loss of all his patience also. On the other hand, some correction is needed for Micio's excessive amiability. Through four acts he is not very far from being an old fool. His laisses faire system is very like a failure. It is expensive to him; it leads people to call in question his sanity. Had it been possible for there to have been a sixth act, we might have found Micio really altered, but Demea really unchanged from his former self. We doubt whether the Psaltria contributed at all to the latter's comfort; he may, after all, have carried out his threat of making her generally useful both out and indoors. We question whether Mrs. Micio's lines were set altogether in pleasant places. There is in her a capacity for shrewishness, and in her husband a latent faculty for grumbling. All these things, however, for want of another act or two, lie in the lap of the gods. All we discern is that Terence, by reducing Micio's principles ad absurdam, makes manifest their extravagance; and, by bringing Demea's to grief, displays their practical inutility. We have a hint from Donatus that Terence improved on Diphilus's play. In the Synapothnescontes Micio, it appears, takes Sostrata to wife without making any wry faces; in the Adelphi he yields to his brother's and sons' importunity, because he has lost the art of saying "No." In reconciling us to the young men by exhibiting, through their errors, their common generosity of nature, Terence shows himself a true artist. He makes us feel that these prodigals may come home again, and in this respect also the Roman is said to have

Minume miror qui insanire occipiunt ex injuria. Domo me eripuit, verberavit; me invito abduxit meam . Homini misero plus quingentos colaphos infregit mihi

Omnes dentes labefecit mihi: Præteren colaphis tuber est totum caput.

But the Sannio of the Westminster Play bore no tokens of illusage; his hair was unruffled; his garments were unrent; he was spruce as a bridegroom, or at least as a "best man." A little disorder was needed—"Si vis nos flere, dolendum est primum ipsi tibi"; his head bound up, one arm in a sling, and a limp in his gait, and perhaps, if it be not asking too much, symptoms of at least one black eye, would have been germane to the matter. The wrath and despair of Geta in the first scene of the third act were excellently represented. But Sostrata and Canthara, while pretending not to hear, must have heard him from the first, because they stood too near him while he vented his ire upon all and sundry; and generally the performers do not avail themselves, at these representations, of the privilege of space afforded them by their stage. They play too much in front, and would greatly animate the scene by more frequent change of side and of ground. Never, however, have the frequent and full applause, and the final plaudite been more richly deserved than at this representation of the Adelphi of Terence.

The Prologue and Epilogue will be in the hands of many hundreds of readers, including among them no few consulares of St. Peter's But the Sannio of the Westminster Play bore no tokens of ill-

The Prologue and Epilogue will be in the hands of many hundreds of readers, including among them no few consulares of St. Peter's College, even before we can go to press. In the former a loyal and seasonable tribute was paid to the "genius loci"; and in the latter, "the Cynthias of the minute" were adroitly and elegantly celebrated in the customary elegiacs. The points of the Play were capitally preserved in the Epilogue, and the right of British youth to choose and practise its own Olympian games was asserted in defiance of warning doctors or over-anxious parents and guardians.

### REVIEWS.

OZANAM'S CIVILIZATION OF THE FIFTH CENTURY.

THE name of Frederick Ozanam is not as familiar as it deserves to be to English readers. Those who have read M. Guizot's Meditations on Christianity may recollect that he is spoken of as the founder of the Society of St. Vincent of Paul, which is now spread over the whole of France as a vast lay organization for benevolent purposes. But he was chiefly known among his

<sup>\*</sup> History of Civilization in the Fifth Century. Translated from the French of A. F. Ozanam, by A. C. Glyn, B.A. 2 vols. London: Allen & Co. 1368.

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countrymen as a distinguished lecturer and writer, and for several years he held the Chair of Foreign Literature at the Sorbonne, iill his career was prematurely cut short by the illness which, in his fortieth year, brought him to the grave. The work on which his reputation mainly rests, Dante and the Catholic Philosophy of the Thirteenth Century, has not, so far as we are aware, been translated into English, but it formed the subject of a remarkable paper by Mr. Dalgairns, published many years ago in the British Critic, then under Dr. Newman's editorship. The History of Civilization in the Fifth Century, though not of equal value, is well worthy of the care Mr. Glyn has bestowed upon clothing it in an English dress. It is, in fact, a fragment, being the first instalment of a larger plan which his early death prevented the author from carrying out. He had purposed to write, as a kind of indirect reply to Gibbon, the literary history of the middle ages from the fifth to the end of the thirteenth century, with a view of showing "how Christianity availed to evoke from the ruins of Rome, and the hordes encamped thereupon, a new society capable of holding truth, doing good, and finding the true idea of beauty." While offering a hearty recognition to all that was really noble in the old civilization, he desired to vindicate the higher mission of Christianity against that "imperishable instinct of Paganism" of which Gibbon had made himself the mouthpiece, and especially to describe the history of progress during the period in which the author of the Decline and Fall had only seen decay. The introductory chapters of the centemplated work, comprising a sketch of the fifth century only, we have before us. The book bears evident traces of its original composition in the form of University lectures, and is not free from inaccuracies and omissions which a more careful revision, had the opportunity for it been given, would probably have removed; but, after all drawbacks, it will well repay not free from inaccuracies and omissions which a more careful revision, had the opportunity for it been given, would probably have removed; but, after all drawbacks, it will well repay attentive perusal. It is not so systematic or so detailed as the Prince de Broglie's history of the same period, nor does it perhaps show the same depth of critical insight. From Dr. Döllinger, again, the author is distinguished by all the characteristic diversity of the French and German intellect. He has not the same habit of patient and exhaustive collection of facts, nor the same rigid impartiality in estimating them. Indeed an over-fondness for hasty generalization is his most prominent fault. But he belongs, in the main, to the same school of liberal Roman Catholic thinkers as the two writers we have just named, and we have not thinkers as the two writers we have just named, and we have not observed any appearance of conscious unfairness in his treatment

thinkers as the two manners of conscious unfairness in his treatment of his subject.

Taking for his text the divine command, "Be ye perfect"—which "condemns humanity to an endless advance"—M. Ozanam sets himself to trace out the continual operation of this law of progress in the Christian Church, alike in literature, in theology, in art, and in the development of its social and moral life. He rightly attributes to the idea of personality, first distinctly recognised and enforced under the Gospel, the basis of that respect for liberty and human life without which no real progress is possible. The opposite principle, which reduced persons to chattels, the mere creatures of the sovereign State—or, as our author expresses it, deified the City—naturally resulted at Rome in the apotheosis of the Emperor, who had absolute jurisdiction over the property, the persons, and the souls of men. The hard realism of the Roman mind could not be satisfied with ideal divinities, or loyalty to an abstract State. M. Ozanam bears witness to a fact also insisted on by Mommsen when he says:—

Rome began to crave for a more concrete God than the Capitolian Jove,

insisted on by Mommsen when he says:—

Rome began to crave for a more concrete God than the Capitolian Jove, and found a living and most terrible deity in the person of her Emperor. Earth could offer nothing more divine in the sense of a majesty at once recognised and obeyed, and Paganism did but push its principles to their consequence in deifying the Casars; but reason fell to the lowest depth of degradation, and the Egyptians grovelling before the beasts of the Nile outraged humanity less than the age of the Antonines, with its philosophers and jurisconsults rendering divine honours to the Emperor Commodus.

The chapter on "Paganism," in which the distinctive realism of the old Roman faith and polity is dwelt upon in some detail, is one of the most interesting and instructive in the book, though it would have been rendered still more so had the author drawn out and illustrated this typical contrast between the Roman and the Hellenic civilization. Comte rightly distinguishes them as the intellectual and the social forms of polytheism. That hideous alternative between the thirst of lust and of blood which Mr. Swinburne has most perversely idealized as the dominant chaintellectual and the social forms of polytheism. That indeous alternative between the thirst of lust and of blood which Mr. Swinburne has most perversely idealized as the dominant characteristic of classical sentiment, was actually exhibited in the corrupt Paganism of the later Empire, when gladiators and Christian martyrs were massacred, and women outraged on the stage, for the afternoon's amusement of high-born ladies. As late as the fourth century, and after Christianity had been for nearly a hundred years the religion of the State, Symmachus, prefect of the city, "the best representative of the Roman aristocracy," had a vestal virgin buried alive for incontinence, and professed himself inconsolable when twenty-nine Saxon captives destined for butchery in the public games had "impiously" preferred to strangle themselves in prison before the day arrived. This, by the by, is no singular or exceptional example of the long survival of Pagan habits and beliefs after the nominal conversion of the Empire. The popular notion that the Edict of Milan transformed Italy by a stroke of the pen into a Christian country, is but another illustration of the same confusion of thought which has given rise to the delusion that our Saxon forefathers were converted en masse by the preaching of St. Augustine, whereas the substitution of the new faith for the old throughout England was the slow work of centuries. M. Ozanam reminds us, with perfect

truth, that the lapse of time and a huge expenditure of effort was required before the ancient cult of the Empire could be dispossessed of the hold it had on society and on the masses, through its temples, its associations, and even by the residuum of truth it retained. In 404 Claudian, in a poem composed in honour of the Christian Emperor Honorius, pointed to the sanctuary of the Tarpeian Jove, and the "host of gods presiding over the city and the world." Several years later, forty-three temples and two hundred and eighty chapels were counted in Rome alone. The images of Hercules, Minerva, and Apollo still decorated the streets and squares, and fountains gushed under the invocation of the nymphs; in the middle of the fifth century the sacred geese continued to be fed in the Capitol, and their auspices taken by the Consuls on entering office. Pagan and Christian festivals stood side by side in the Calendar. And if this was the case in the capital, much more of course in the provinces did Paganism—so-called from its prevalence in the country villages—retain its hold. There the temple groves remained untouched by the axe; the idols were worshipped, and the ignorant populace awaited in scornful patience the decay of the new creed.

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After examining in order the laws, the literature, and the poetry of ancient Rome—which last he calls "the only form of preaching known to Paganism"—M. Ozanam contrasts with them the institutions, literature, art, and theology of Christendom. There is a chapter on Christian art, as exemplified in the Catacombs, and later on in the basilicas, from which we shall have occasion presently to extract a striking passage on symbolism. Meanwhile, it is hardly correct to speak of the basilicas being used for Christian purposes because the temples were too small. This would not have prevented their being available at least as chaptels or oratories, but it was thought safer not to use for religious worship buildings exclusively associated in the popular mind with idolatrous rites and habits of thought. The fear expressed in one place, by M. Ozanam, of a taste for classical architecture superseding the appreciation of Gothic, has hardly been justified by the event. It certainly cannot be said in our day that, "although Rheims and Chartres are at our side, we seem to ignore them." On another point M. Ozanam, had be lived a few years longer, would have seen reason to modify his language in a less favourable sense. He speaks of Rome respecting the individuality of national churches, and especially instances her respect for national "privileges, institutions, conditioning uniformity with unity. This leads us to remark on a strange inaccuracy which our author falls into when he says that Christian Italy inherited respectively from the Erusean and the Roman chements her theological spirit and the genius of government. The governing spirit was undoubtedly a bequest to the Latin Church from the exceeding unwisdom of confounding uniformity with unity. This leads

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before, deals too largely in those rapid and somewhat rhetorical generalizations which are the besetting snare of French historical writers, to allow us to forget his nationality; but there is very little in the language of Mr. Glyn's translation to remind us that the book was not composed in English. And in an age when there is so much of desultory reading, and so little patience for anything like systematic study, grace and clearness of diction become no mere artistic luxury, but an important instrument in the conveyance and diffusion of knowledge. The following passage on the origin and true idea of Christian symbolism is interesting in itself, and will give a fair idea of the general style both of author and translator: before, deals too largely in those rapid and somewhat rhetorical

both of author and translator:—

Symbolism is the common fount of all Christian poetry. Symbolism is at once a law of nature and a law of the human mind. It is a law of nature: for what, after all, is creation but a magnificent language which is speaking to us by night and by day? The heavens tell us of their author; and all created beings speak not only of Him who made them, but of each other, the meanest and most obscure unfolding the history of the sons of light and glory. What is the returning bird of passage but the sign of the spring which it brings with it, and of stars which have been coursing on for months? And does not the fragile reed which casts its shadow on the sand serve to register the height of the sun on the horizon? Thus do all existences bear mutual witness, arouse and summon one another from one end of immensity to the other, and thus do their continual combinations, their numberless symbols and harmonics, form the poetry of the world which we inhabit.

The same idea appears in Christianity, and in Scripture God spoke only.

The same idea appears in Christianity, and in Scripture God spoke only in the language of symbol. The entire Old Testament is full of realities, and has, doubtless, an historical value, but, at the same time, all the patriarchs and prophets represented Him who was to come. Joseph and Moses were but the precursors and, at the same time, the signs of Him who was one day to accomplish the law, and in whom every type was to find its reality. The New Testament, in its turn, only addresses us in parables; and Christ Himself, using the familiar language of rustic life, that kind of life which is most natural and most grateful to humanity, said one day, "I am the vine," and on another occasion, "I am the good shepherd." It was the same in the whole ulterior development of the New Testament. St. Paul interpreted Scripture by means of allusions and allegories; the two mountains represented, according to him, the two covenants; and the Red Sea, which the Hebrews had crossed, became in his eyes the symbol of baptism. Again, in the Apocalypse, that especially symbolical book, each figure was produced with a mysterious meaning attached to it; and when St. John represented the new Jerusalem as respiendent with gold and jewels, with its wall of precious stones and its gates of pearl, it was not mere material splendour nor a flattery of the senses which he offered to the men who were daily dying, braving martyrdom and renouncing every treasure, as the supreme end of their eitorts; for in the language of the East every precious stone had a symbolical value, which was admitted according to rule into all the ancient schools, and represented in a mystic manner certain vague virtues of the soul and certain forces of the human understanding or of divine grace.

## LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE OF THOMAS SLINGSBY DUNCOMBE, M.P.\*

THIS work is valuable as illustrating the resources of the modern bookmaker. Henceforth the composition of a biography will be like the composition of stone soup. In the one case, when the leeks and the carrots and the stock-meat have been case, when the leeks and the carrots and the stock-meat have been boiled together, the stone may be dispensed with. So, in the other, when a compilation has been made from all kinds of contemporaneous documents, the hero may be dismissed with scant and occasional notice. The author of this book seems to have thought that if he selected as the central figure of his narrative one who had taken a preminent part in public affairs during an interesting period of our national history, and grouped round him a mass of unconnected incidents taken from overy possible source of information, accurate or inaccurate, he must needs succeed in compiling a valuable work. Accordingly, having got his hero, he takes the Annual Register, Hansard, odd volumes of journals, current books of gossip about theatres and the Opera, Gronow's and Ruikes's Memoirs, and by dint of cutting out a piece here and a piece there, he produces a biography in which there is, after all, quite as much about every other person as about the ostensible hero of the piece. And yet there was very much to interest us in him. He was a compound of characters which are rarely found to co-exist in one man, and will was very much to interest us in him. He was a compound of characters which are rarely found to co-exist in one man, and will still more rarely co-exist hereafter. Well-born, a man of fashion, a dandy, the friend of Lady Blessington, Count D'Orsay, and Prince Louis Napoleon, an habitué of the stalls and the coulisses, the victim of actresses, blacklegs, and bill-discounters, and at the same time an out-and-out Radical, the tried supporter of Chartist delegates, and—more wonderful than all besides—the representative of a metropolitan constituency with which he was permanently popular, such an unusual compound of characteristics would supply materials enough for description and analysis in would supply materials enough for description and analysis in the hands of a qualified biographer. But this writer gives us neither. At the end of the work we remain as ignorant as we were at the beginning what was Duncombe's real life, why he was a Radical, and how he reconciled his political functions with his social principles and aristocratic tastes.

social principles and aristocratic tastes.

Thomas Slingsby Duncombe belonged to one of those families which, having been founded on the proceeds of trade, buy land, and in the course of one or two generations have become "territorial" enough to edge their way into the peerage. A Charles Duncombe was Lord Mayor of London in Queen Anne's reign, and was knighted. His nephew became Earl of Feversham, which title expired with him. The barony of

Feversham was afterwards revived in the person of a collateral descendant, whose brother, Duncombe of Copgrove, married a daughter of Bishop Hinchcliffe, and became the father of the subject of these Memoirs. Young Thomas, heir to an estate in Yorkshire, and connected by marriage with many families of the peerage, was born in 1796, went first to Harrow, and then into the Coldstream Guards. After a campaign in Holland he returned home, and did not accompany that battalion of his regiment which took a memorable part in the Waterloo campaign. In 1819 he left the army, and gave himself up to fashionable his in London. Well-born, heir to a good fortune, endowed with a distinguished air and prepossessing appearance, he was welcomed by the ladies who in those days governed society. A history of his life in London would not be uniateresting. But anything like a connected history it would be impossible to gather from these volumes. Dates and epochs the most distant are mingled in the most higgledy-piggledy fashion. After recounting the incidents of 1818 or 1819, the biographer, fascinated by some name which he has had to mention, starts off to 1835 or 1842, to the uties of history. For instance, Duncombe's initiation at Brookes's brings us at once to the times of Burdett and O'Connell. The mention of D'Orsay in 1820 immediately launches us into memorand of Gree House in 1842. It is therefore easier to compile brings us at once to the times of Burdett and O'Connell. The mention of D'Orsay in 1820 immediately launches us into memoranda of Gore House in 1842. It is therefore easier to compile a summary of Tom Duncombe's life from the Annual Reviews and the daily journals than from his professed Memoirs. He was admitted into Almack's at a time when even Guardsmen found it hard to escape being blackballed. He was a member of Brooke's, the Beef Steak, and every other Club in vogue. He was a favourite with great ladies and distinguished actresses. He played and lost heavily. In 1821 he varied his amusements by taking up politics, and unsuccessfully contested Pontefract. He contested Hertford in 1823, with no better success. In 1826 he was successful. These three facts are with difficulty disengaged from a mass of rubbish about Hunt, Cobbett, Radicalism, and extracts from Rush's and Fowell Buxton's Memoirs. And the thread of the narrative is again broken by incongruous episodes about Alvanley, Brummell, and Lord Petersham. Duncombe's return for the same borough in 1830 produces this profound comment: in 1830 produces this profound comment:-

In the general election of 1830, Mr. Duncombe again contested Hertfuel in the Liberal interest, and made a good tight. With revolutions following each other in rapid succession on the Continent, the exciting nature of the daily intelligence was sure to produce an effect on the public mind at such a period. Speakers on the hustings could not always restrain themselves from making suggestive allusions; and some politicians, in their correspondence, did not attempt to disguise their admiration. The political atmosphere, therefore, was unusually democratic, and candidates found as surer road to popularity than the expression of ultra-Liberal opinions.

In 1832 he first gave vent to his Radical sentiments, and spoke what his supporters would call "spicy speeches" against Lord Lyndhurst and the Bench of Bishops. On the dissolution in that year he failed to be re-elected for Hertford, and did not re-enter Parliament till he was elected for Finsbury in 1834. Here he played a rôle which was remarkable, and certainly not useless. His social and personal advantages secured him the ear of the House. His popularity with matrapolitan Radicals made him

played a rôle which was remarkable, and certainly not useles. His social and personal advantages secured him the ear of the House. His popularity with metropolitan Radicals made him a power in and out of the House. He became the patronus of every man of every nation who had, or thought he had, a grievance. The Duke of Brunswick, Louis Napoleon, Kossuth, Mazzini, Colonel Dickson, Thorogood, Frost, and the other condemned Chartists, each in turn found an exponent of his cause in the good-looking and good-natured member for Finsbury.

When we remember where the Whigs, in their sedulous hunt after popularity, looked for the subordinate officers of their Government, it seems somewhat strange that they did not find a place for Tom Duncombe. He had a far better address than many of their functionaries. He was much more popular. He was not a greater rake than many leading politicians on both sides either were or had been. He was as honest as any of them. Probably his connexion with Lord Durham, to whom he was attached by personal and political ties, whom he followed to Canada, and whom the grand old Whigs must have regarded as the very impersonation of discord, kept him out of office. As it was, his disconnexion from all official ties left him free to take his own course; and he went on, accordingly, identifying himself more and more every year with the extreme views of his constituents, but never compromising himself by his advocacy in the eyes of Parliament or society. His associations with Feargus O'Connor, with Mazzini, and others of the ultra-Liberal school, are well known. But it is not equally well known that he was one of the confidential friends of Charles Duke of Brunswick, and of Louis Napoleon, and that he was instrumental in devising the release of the future Emperor from Ham. As far as we can gather from this very confused narrative, Duncombe's friendship with the Em-Napoleon, and that he was instrumental in devising the release of the future Emperor from Ham. As far as we can gather from this very confused narrative, Duncombe's friendship with the Emperor continued up to within a year or two of his death. A still less clear statement leaves on our mind the impression that Duncombe, and a mysterious secretary of his, a Mr. Smith, had a large contingent interest in the property of the Duke of Brunswick. It would seem that the Duke made a will in 1846, in which he left to the mysterious Smith 30,000L, and to Tom Duncombe the whole residue of his real and personal estate, inclusive of his diamonds, which were valued at some hundreds of thousands of pounds. To the will, as given in this work, no condition is attached. But we gather from a later passage that there was a condition attached to, or in some way connected with, the will; and a very important condition too. This was neither more nor less than an undertaking on the part of the two legates, who

The Life and Correspondence of Thomas Slingsby Duncombe, late M.P. for Finsbury. Edited by his Son, Thomas H. Duncombe. 2 vols. London: Hurst & Blackett. 1868.

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were also executors, to surrender the will on demand. This demand, it further appears, was eventually made, and the incomprehensible secretary, who seems to have been always flitting fetween Paris and London, was the agent of its transmission from nanombe to the Duke. Whether he himself entirely waived his

demand, it further appears, was eventually made, and the incompetensible secretary, who seems to have been always flitting fetween Paris and London, was the agent of its transmission from Dancembe to the Duke. Whether he himself entirely waived his own claims, or took some equivalent for them, is not recorded here. Indeed, among the many queer jumbles in this book, nome is more puzzling than the fragmentary chatter about the Duke of Bruswick. After Duncombe gave back the will, his relations with His Serene Highness ceased. His relations, too, with a very different sort of person, Mazzini, ceased-after Orsini's attempt to assassinate the Emperor. In the excitement caused by the debate on the "Conspiracy to Murder" Bill, Duncombe's chivalrous friendship led him to defy unpopularity by speaking on behalf of his old friend Louis Napoleon, although he did not vote for the Bill itself. His pluck did him no harm with his constituents, who admired his courage. During many years of his life he was tormented with a bronchial affection; and, after trying several places on the Southern coast, he eventually went to Lancing. For a short time the disease abated, but afterwards returned with greater violence than ever, and carried him off on the 13th of Norember, 1861, in the sixty-sixth year of his age.

The life of T. Duncombe is one that was worth studying. But, to be studied, we should have the many incidents which marked his career clearly portrayed. Not only is this not done, but no approach to a clear and continuous history is made in this book. We have letters from and to various persons, scraps of diaries, extracts from contemporary works, without regard to date, order, or authority. But we have not got—what the writer, from his relationship to the hero, might have given us—the inner life of one who managed to combine the incongruous character of a Tribune of the people with those of a gentleman, a man of fashion, and "a safe man" in Parliament. Enough, however, is told to temper an almost involuntary suspicion of "hu

of Hunt and Cobbett:—

Hunt and Cobbett were stalwart fellows, each standing more than six feet high, and in general appearance affected the jolly farmer. Both had fine roices, and were fluent speakers, without any pretensions to eloquence. Cobbett was infinitely the superior in intelligence. Hunt was recognised by his white hat, blue coat, light waistcoat, kersev smalls, and top-boots; he possessed a fair complexion, rather preposeessing features, light grey eyes, thin lips, and wore his own hair. He was portly in person, with a joinal expression of countenance, and dressed in the style of his colleague, except that his linen seemed to have been got up with more care. The aditor of the well-known Register, then much patronized by the leading Whigs, and by all the Radicals, might have passed for a yeoman in comfortable circumstances. Both were in high repute as mob-orators, and were ardent and uncompromising patriots. They were, however, anything but disinterested, seeking to turn their popularity to the most profitable account.

It would be perhaps impossible to write anything more flat or jejune than the following sentences, in which Hume, Mackin-tesh, and Brougham are all grouped together as birds of the same

Sir James Mackintosh, Henry Brougham, and Joseph Hume were practical legislators, who have left the impress of their genius upon the statutes of the country. Wilberforce and his supporters devoted themselves with the same carnestness of purpose to the suppression of the slave trade and the extinction of colonial slavery. Burdett, Byng, Whitbread, and their associates, did good service in keeping popular subjects before the public eye, and by endeavouring to restrain the disposition of the executive for arbitrary and irresponsible government.

The following is as good a specimen as could be wished of the style which, for want of a better term, may best be described as "gabble":—

"gabble":—

"Monk Lewis" was popular as a member of Parliament, as the author of Tales of Wonder, and the great sensational play of that day, The Castle Spectre. He acquired his sobriquet from having written a romance of doubtful morality called The Monk. He was a favourite of the Princess of Wales and the ladies of her equivocal court. He was a good deal quizzed, and very sharply handled in The Pursuits of Literature.

"Old Sarum" was an appellation conferred on the late dowager Marchioness of Salisbury, from her having the proprietorship of the rotten borough of that name. This lady had been a distinguished horsewoman, constantly going across country with the Quorn Hunt. Her sky-blue habit and jockey-cap were equally familiar to the field that attended the meet when the Hatfield hounds threw off. Her ladyship also drove four-in-hand with the same fearlessness she displayed in going over her fences. When at an advanced age, on the 2nd of December, 1835, she called for an additional light—two wax candles not affording her sufficient to write by. A short time afterwards a conflagration broke out in the old mansion (Hatfield) and consumed the wing in which her apartment was situated. The flames left scarcely a trace of her. Lady Salisbury was completely one of the old school, and kept up the stately customs in fashion in her younger days to the end of her long career.

"The Sultana" was the title conferred by the court upon the Marchioness of Hertford, Lord Yarmouth's mother, as suggestive of her alleged position in the affections of that grand Turk, George Prince of Wales.

"The Lady" was the name by which the Marchieness of Conyngham was mentioned by the officers of the royal household, when she was living with the King (George IV.) at the Cottage, near Windsor. The happy pair amused themselves with fishing in Virginia Water, and driving in a pony-carriage about the ornamental grounds.

Political nicknames were as common as fashionable ones. A popular economical Reformer and a Chancellor of Exchequer somewhat notorious for profuse expenditure were coupled together as Penny Wise and Pound Foolish. Joseph Hume was a fellow labourer of Mr. Duncombe in the vineyard of Reform, and the thorns he pulled up there he seemed always throwing in the way of the Treasury. Vansitart (Lord Bexley) suffered from them most. Lord Sidmouth, "the Doctor," son of Dr. Addington, contrived sometimes to have his lines fall in pleasant places: for instance, he secured the White Lodge in Richmond Park as a gratuitous residence; but especially came in for favours he did not expect, for on one occasion paying a visit to a prison during meal-time, and accepting the place of honour, he was unpleasantly made aware of the unpopularity of the governor by a shower of penny-loaves at his head. The prisoners were disastisfied with this portion of their diet, and careless of the distinguished visitor, made a simultaneous demonstration of their displeasure.

"Handsome Jack" (Mr. Spalding) was long a fashionable celebrity.

Elsewhere the author makes a peer of Baron Rothschild, and

Elsewhere the author makes a peer of Baron Rothschild, and talks of him as "his lordship."

The following is, if true, a curious anecdote of Wakley, after his first entrance into Parliament:—

After the first appearance of Mr. Wakley in the House of Commons, some of the members appeared inclined to be social with him, but he repelled their good-natured advances. "In a little time," he said to them, "you aristocrats will be swept out of this, like chaff before a whirlwind." Mr. Wakley's whirlwind never came—his chaff did.

The difficulties which a Liberal M.P. has to encounter in preserving his independence against the pressure of his constituents are illustrated by a scene which may be profitably studied by all candidates for large and populous boroughs under the new Reform Act. A member of a deputation is the narrator:—

Act. A member of a deputation is the narrator:—

"On presenting our card to Mr. Duncombe in the lobby he exclaimed, 'I am busy now,' and entered the House. Five minutes after he came out, and called upon us to follow him into the vote-room. We commenced by stating that 'the question we have to call your attention to—'

"Mr. Duncombe interrupted and said—'Well, but stop! Where do you come from—who sends you?'

"We answered that we were sent by committees established in various towns, whose objects are strictly the investigation of home and foreign affairs!

"Mr. Johnson, of Stafford—'I act for a committee of working-men in Stafford.'

Stafford.'
"Mr. Duncombe-'Do you mean to tell me that the working-men pay you for coming here? I say they are great fools if they do.'
"Mr. Duncombe abruptly broke off here, and left us, and then returned in company with, we are informed, his secretary. He began not where he left off on leaving us, but by saying, 'I will say nothing but what I say before another person.' He then said that 'the working-men had better keep their money.'
"Mr. Johnson, of Newcastle, interrupted, and attempted to open the

"Mr. Johnson, of Newcastle, interrupted, and attempted to open the case.

"Mr. Duncombe, vehemently—'Will you hold your tongue? I am not going to enter into the case with you. You came here to instruct me on Maritime Law!'

"We said that we did not come to instruct him or any other gentleman, but to appeal to him as an Englishman, having some interest in common with ourselves.

"He again interrupted, exclaiming with great vehemence, 'Will you hold your tongue? You instruct me! I am the independent representative of an independent constituency. I know far more about it than you can tell me. You will have my opinion when the subject comes before l'arliament.' He here suddenly relaxed (?) into his former menacing and insulting tone of speech, saying, 'In fact, I will not hear you.'

"On our asking if he did not represent England, he said 'No, I don't. I represent a constituency.'

"We were about to continue, but he stopped us, repeating his former words—"Will you hold your tongue? I will not hear you. I tell you that you are imposing on the working-men.' And then asked if we were not the followers of Mr. Urquhart?'

"On our answering in the affirmative he said, 'Then I tell you at once, that I have no confidence in his principles, and still less in his foreign policy;' and then entered into a rambling statement about it being presumption on our part [which it certainly was] to be calling on members of Parliament assuming to instruct them.

"We said that we did not wish to instruct, we desired them to assist in protecting the crown and the people, who are alike attacked by this innovation.

"Mr. Duncombe—' To set aside Lord Campbell and Lord Clarendon?'

novation.

"Mr. Duncombe—'To set aside Lord Campbell and Lord Clarendon?'

"One of the members of the deputation said, 'We have nothing to do
with Lord Campbell; we have to (striking the declaration) do with this.
Here is a question that affects the crown of England, as it does us—and we come to you.'

#### TRISTRAM'S NATURAL HISTORY OF THE BIBLE.

TRISTRAM'S NATURAL HISTORY OF THE BIBLE.

M. R. TRISTRAM'S little work is remarkable for the completeness of the information which it has brought within a handy compass, together with the clear and unaffected style in which the writer has clothed the results of his labours. It forms, for its bulk and scope, the most exhaustive and systematic manual which we possess on the subject of the natural history of the Bible; and for the young, in particular, deserves to be recommended as a valuable companion to Scripture study. It is, on all accounts, one of the best books that the Christian Knowledge Society has of late placed upon its list. What makes it especially to be relied on is its being largely the fruit of personal knowledge and experience on the part of the writer, he having, with this express purpose, spent nearly a year in the Holy Land, accompanied by well-qualitied botanical and zoological collectors, and having de-

The Natural History of the Bible: being a Review of the Physical Geography, Geology, and Meteorology of the Holy Land. By H. B. Tristram, M.A., F.L.S. London: Christian Knowledge Society. 1867.

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voted himself to a careful investigation of the physical features and products of the country. Herein lies, to a great extent, what is new and characteristic about the work. In the field of historical and critical research the writer owns his debt to the labours of painstaking predecessors, especially to the massive learning and colossal industry of Bochart and Olav Celsius. The book will be found to illustrate, not so much technically as popularly, every prominent allusion to natural history in the Scriptures by refeprominent allusion to natural history in the Scriptures by reference to the actual condition of the country and the character of its existing forms of life. The broad view which Mr. Tristram takes of his subject enables him to place in the most instructive light the near relation that exists between the physical geography and the vegetable and animal products of the country. What may be called the key to the whole scheme of life which is peculiarly characteristic of Palestine is the "Ghor" or Jordan Valley. We see here a deep chink or ravine ploughed deep down into the bowels of the land, which separates Western Palestine from the country east of Jordan, and collects into itself the rainfall from the high lands and hills on either side:—

From the rise of that mysterious river, in the rocks of the Anti-Lebanon, the valley steadily deepens. It pauses awhile in the high Lake of Merom, the modern Hulch, just south of Hermon, and below the city of Laish or Dan, not far from the later Casarea Philippi, where it collects in a wide basin the contributions of many affluents. Thence it descends rapidly to the second halting-place in its career, the Sea of Galilee, linked for ever with our holiest memories. Deepening still as it proceeds, the river breaks from the southern end of the lake to enter on the third stage of its existence, plunging in a strangely tortuous course, with windings so infinitely multiplied that it increases a distance of 60 miles to 200, while confined within the narrow trench of its lower terraces, rarely more than two miles wide, which form the edge of the Ghor, or "Plain of Jordan" of the Jews. The upper terraces reach back for several miles to the enclosing hills. At length, as the valley deepens, the Jordan becomes, in the Dead Sea, a long pool, forty-two miles long, and from twelve to sixteen wide, 1,292 feet below the level of the sea, the deepest depression on the earth's surface. It is this deep furrow which has caused the marvellous variety of climate, products, and scenery which are the characteristics of the land, and has for many centuries separated the history and fortunes of the country on this side, and of that on the other side Jordan. The Jordan is unique among rivers in its origin, its lonely course, and its gloomy termination.

What the Nile is to Egypt this singular river is to the land of

What the Nile is to Egypt this singular river is to the land of Judea—a "sparkling serpent writhing in a barren desert, with only here and there an oasis of deepest green." Unlike the Nile, however, it draws its tribute from countless rills during its course, and yet never yields up its burden to the sea. There is no more and yet never yields up its burden to the sea. There is no more curious phenomenon in physical geography than that chronic balance between the acquisitions of the Jordan and the evaporation from its surface which keeps the Dead Sea at so unvarying a level. Such variations as are traceable belong at least to distant and prehistoric times. It is, however, the amazing variety which exists in the superficial character of the narrow region of Palestine that stamps the country as unique in the whole compass of geography, and tends to explain the hold it has succeeded in maintaining over the minds and feelings of the most widely contrasted races of men. As Dean Stanley has effectively pointed out, it presents on its very face a kind of has effectively pointed out, it presents on its very face a kind of epitome of the natural features of well-nigh every country. It thus seems made to furnish the "natural theatre of a history and a seems made to furnish the "natural theatre of a history and a literature which were destined to spread among nations familiar to the most varied climates and imagery." Within a space no wider than Wales, nature has here presented the aspects of a tropical, an Eastern, and almost a Northern climate—of waving corn and desert sand and rock, of pasture and forest; the life of a roving Bedouin tribe contrasted with that of an agricultural people and of seafaring cities. On the sea-coast we find maritime people and of seafaring cities. On the sea-coast we find maritime plains of surpassing richness, where frost is unknown, and where the abundant drainage from the hills, with the copious rains and dews from heaven, precludes all risk of drought. In the hill country, instead of the corn farms of the plain, the terraced slopes had, in their golden age, their staple growth in the vine, the fig-tree, and the olive. Here it was that the great masses of the population gradually formed their home. In the earliest historical period, the days of the patriarchs, as Mr. Tristram reminds us, these terraces were not yet formed, but the primæval forest still covered the hills, affording covert to the wild beasts, and modifying the temperature of the air. During the Israelitish period these forests gave way by degrees to the artificial culture of the terraces. The olive formed the chief delight and wealth of these teeming gardens, but it has since all but disappeared under the desolating breath of war and anarchy that has swept the land since the Roman period. Under the pressure of maintaining a dense population, the country has also become bare of wood. Where now are the forest of Hamath and the wood of Ziph? the lair of the lion and the covert of the bear, even on the naked hills of Benjamin? forest of Hamath and the wood of Ziph? the lair of the lion and the covert of the bear, even on the naked hills of Benjamin? Where is Kirjath-Jearim, the "city of forests?" As late as the Crusades we hear of a pine-wood on the hills between Jerusalem and Bethlehem. "Now it would be no difficult task to count the trees in Western Palestine." On Carmel the few patriarchal cedars that survive seem doomed to fall speedily under the axe of the Turk. Even the ancient glories of Lebanon are only kept up by scanty groups. In the Lebanon valleys the mulberry and the silkworm have in modern times replaced the ancient culture of the Land of Israel. On the higher grounds, as upon Hermon, the fruits, flowers and plants, are of an Alpine character; and the bear still lingers among the rocks. In the plain of Gennesaret, and in the seething marshes of the Huleh (Merom), early in the course of the Jordan, we find acres of papyrus, which

is now wholly extinct in Egypt. The palm still waves richly along the river's course as in the days of Josephus, and the thorny "nubk" or jujube (Zizyphus spinu-christi), a tropical tree, the oleander, and the tamarisk, fringe the streamlets and the river banks. As we reach the tropical basin of the Dead Sea, these products seem gathered into five separate cases—the plains of Shittim and of Jericho, the little bay of Engedi, the Wady-Zuweirah and the Ghor-es-Safieh, the ancient waters of Nimrim. Here in mid-winter the temperature ranges from 60° to 80°, the corn is ripe in March, melons ripen in winter, and indigo is largely cultivated. The birds, Mr. Tristram remarks, in these favoured regions are largely tropical, being Indian or Equatorial African in type. The Indian collared turtle (Turtur risorius) mixes with the common turtle-dove throughout the year. Many birds altogether unknown elsewhere also haunt the Dead Sea; among them a nightjar, a peculiar sparrow, and a grakle, while a beautiful little sun-bird, or Nectarinia, often mistaken for a humming-bird, flits among the shrubs. The butterflies, too, resemble those of Nubia and Abyssinia rather than those of the upper country. Such are the vast differences wrought in this narrow strip of country by easily traceable causes. There is the everencircling desert on the one side, and on the other the eternal freshness of the sea; the hot winds or sirocco, the "east wind of Scripture," and the cold breezes from the summits where the Highest gave "snow like wool," and "exattereth the hoar frost like ashes," and "casteth forth his ice like morsels." Above all is the enormous difference in level of the land, from the Jordan Valley (sunk 1,300 feet below the sea line) to the maritime plain, and thence to the highland centre 1,500 feet above the sea, up to the northern peaks 12,000 feet high, covered with perpetual snow.

The extreme variety, however, which is seen in the superficial features of the country does not extend to the geology of the

The extreme variety, however, which is seen in the superficial features of the country does not extend to the geology of the Bible lands. Nothing like the varied series of formations is to be met with there that exists in England. We have, indeed, still to wait for that exhaustive survey of the whole region which is the main object of the Palestine Exploration Fund. But Mr. Tristram's rapid sketch lays down in approximate outlines the map that is to be. The Sinattic range may be taken as the key to the general be. The Sinattic range may be taken as the key to the general system of Palestinian geology. Here, whatever conjectures may have been based upon Scriptural allusions to burning and smoking hills, is nothing in common with volcanic phenomena. The whole series is composed of granitic and plutonic rocks without a trace of basalt, lava, or other volcanic agencies. Large dykes of porof basalt, lava, or other volcanic agencies. Large dykes of porphyry and syenite crossing these mountains bear witness, however, to subsequent igneous eruptions. In the upper Jordan Valley, but a few miles south of the Sea of Galilee, we come upon the wonderful volcanic region of the Lejah or ancient Trachonitis, one immense lava-field honeycombed with caves and fissures. Here there have been volcanoes in action at very recent geological periods. Overlying the syenite in the range towards Suez we find the wide sandstone range of the Tūr, from which rises the wall of the great limestone plateau, with breaks here and there, that covers nearly the whole of Syria. This vast formation is cretaceous, and abounds in characteristic fossils. On the tops of the rounded hills (as on Carmel and the west of the Mount of Olives) is still found a stratum of chalk with flints, and the remains of a vast eocene tertiary deposit which once covered the country till swept away by the volumes of water rushing through the wadys. The rich valleys, with the domed hills and downs of the pastoral country, show the results of denudation, and the fertile accumulation of debris. In one group the highly crystalline magnesian limestone contains iron pyrites, a "land whose stones are iron." Upon the geology of the Dead Sea Mr. Tristram has some clear and interesting particulars based upon the recent investigations of M. Lartet. It is satisfactorily shown that this lake was in its origin no mere prolongation of the Red Sea, but an old inland basin, larger far than the present lake, but since the tertiary period contracted by evaporation. The salt mountains and bitumen springs furnish matter for most interesting phyry and syenite crossing these mountains bear witness, how since the tertiary period contracted by evaporation. The salt mountains and bitumen springs furnish matter for most interesting observation in connexion with the origin of this singular geological observation in connexion with the origin of this singular geological phenomenon. It is evident, from the results here attained, that the catastrophe which overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah can no more be ascribed to ordinary volcanic agency than can the fire and darkness of Mount Sinai. It is, after all, in the department of animal and vegetable life that Mr. Tristram is more particularly at home. And in these chapters of his book he will be found to exercise with an expount of resingular and thoughtful observaat home. And in these chapters of his book he will be found to expatiate with an amount of painstaking and thoughtful observation which gives his work a peculiar value, together with a degree of fulness which baffles selection. We can only say that, if our readers want information touching Scriptural birds, beasts, or fishes, or would track the studies of Solomon from the cedar-tree that is in Lebanon, even unto the hyssop that springeth out of the wall, we know no one who will supply such facts in a popular form with greater clearness, precision, and truthfulness. If any still feel harassed with doubts about the famous hare started by Bishop Colenso, they will find the mystery of its chewing the cud disposed of simply, and probably to their satisfaction. Some may be perplexed by controversies touching the growth of the mustard tree. Others may be lost in the difficulties attending the identification of the Rose of Sharon. Some may hear for the first time that this is held on authority to be no rose at all, but possibly some bulbous plant, the sweet-scented narcissus (Narcissus (Narc sibly some bulbous plant, the sweet-scented narcissus (Narcussus taxetta), the crocus, the mallow, the hollyhock (Althea acaulis, A. rosea, or A. cretica), or possibly the cleander or the rhododeadron, the Tree Rose of the Greeks. The rose of Jericho (Anastatica

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lirechmtina) seems to be nothing but a small ligneous coniferous plant, like a withered twig, which grows in the sand in the hot baren plains round the Dead Sea. A misapplication of names has been the source of much popular error here. In other cases mythical or legendary lore has to be cleared up. An instance of this occurs in the apple of Sodom (Solamun sanctum or S. Sodomeun). Or matters within the calling of the antiquary, no less than of the naturalist, come up for discussion, such as the use of otton amongst the ancients, or the questions whether sish, "fine line," may be taken to include silk. On points like these, and other innunerable which come up in the course of Bible reading, the Tristram's book will be found a sensible and useful compendium of reference. Slight in point of bulk and price as it is, it will often be the means of saving the trouble of recourse to more cumbrous and higher-priced treatises.

#### DR. CAMPBELL.

DR. CAMPBELL.\*

WE will not say, for it would be a presumptuous assertion, that this is the worst specimen of a biography ever written; but we sincerely hope that there are not many worse. Religious biographies have indeed a bud name, even amongst the dismal class of literature to which they belong. When a man of any mark dies, and his correspondence is tumbled out upon the world is undigested masses of small type, connected by fragments of larger print, the result is seldom exhilarating. In this case the work has been performed with unusual indifference to any literacy considerations. The joint authors of the thick octavo volume before us show a special incapacity for telling a plain story. It is comparatively a small matter that they skip backwards and forwards with a playful indifference to chronology which always leaves us in doubt, as to a margin of some twenty years, of what special period they are writing. It is rather more annoying that, whenever they come across an incident of some interest, they proceed by the method of "alluding to individuals" or "circumstances" and carefully abstain from giving us a distinct narrative of the facts. Whether this proceeds from an amiable desire on the part of the authors to spare the feelings of living persons, or from a belief that their readers are perfectly "posted up" in all the details of the "Rivulet Controversy" or the legal proceedings about the Tottenham Court Koad Chapel, the result is equally annoying. It leaves us in a hopelessly indistinct state of mind as to the chief events of Dr. Campbell's life. And, finally, the copious correspondence which fills most of the 559 pages is of the very dullest description. Dr. Campbell, as a Dissenting preacher, and as the editor and principal author of soveral religious newspapers, had a natural disposition to secrete enormous volumes of monotonous writing—sometimes tinged with the peuliar phraseology of his sect, but generally featureless and uninteresting to a surprising degree. The joint biographers wonder at his e

neanng; so that the writer and the person addressed have to be inferred from the previous remarks.

This is the more unfortunate because, as far as we can infer from the dreary pages of the biography, Dr. Campbell was really a man of ability and strongly marked character. He was a fine specimen of the tough Scotch Calvinist, a Dissenter of the old dogged inflexible breed, and a very worthy follower of Whitfield, to whose chapel he was the second successor. He was a man of great energy, though of half cultivated and of narrow intellect. According to his lights he did good and disinterested work, and he seems to have possessed warm affections and many really amiable qualities under a rugged yet manly outside. A real picture of a vigorous, warm-hearted, hot-headed, and ignorant preacher might have shown us much that was picturesque, and something perhaps that was really touching and attractive. As it is, we are left laboriously to extract a few characteristic touches for ourselves out of the dreary expanse of colourless dissertation; and it is not our fault if the somewhat ridiculous features of his character are rendered more prominent than his better qualities, for, in toiling through the barren waste of writing, the only points which catch our eye are the occasional unconscious absurdities into which the biographers or their unlucky victim manage to stumble. which catch our eye are the occasional unconscious absurdities into which the biographers or their unlucky victim manage to stumble. Thus we of course come upon a few of those queer applications of Scriptural language which, however well meant, provoke an involuntary smile. Dr. Campbell appears to have been a dutiful son, and out of a small salary sent occasional sums of money to his mother, who married twice after his father's death. "I got the five pounds," she writes to him, "which you kindly sent me. What a deliverance it was, for on that very day my husband died. Oh, that I could cleave to the Lord Jesus with full purpose of heart, for He is a hiding-place from the storm and a covert from the tempest." The sentiment is really excellent, but the form of returning thanks for a five-pound note may

perhaps be described as overstrained. A little further on the authors remark, à propos of a quarrel between Dr. Campbell and certain managers of his chapel, that "the winds can be chained" (we did not know it), "the storm can be laid, and the ocean itself be made to sleep on the sand, but who, they ask, can control the fierce and fiery passions of fallen man? This demands a miracle of grace." To our surprise we find, in a few pages, that this miracle is worked by filing a bill before the Vice-Chancellor of England. Presently we are told in the same style that Dr. Campbell had many troubles:—

The cup which heaven put to his lips was not without its bitter. The dark shadow sometimes fell on his path. He had to wear his crown of thorns. He had to follow his Master in suffering. From circumstances into which it is not needful that we should enter, Mr. Bateman was induced to tender his resignation as one of the managers of the Tabernacle.

Now it was no doubt annoying to Dr. Campbell to lose the services of an old friend of some standing; but it is rather a bold

services of an old friend of some standing; but it is rather a bold metaphor to describe this annoyance as wearing a crown of thorns. It is evident that the fiery trials through which a modern minister of the Gospel has to pass—at least in Tottenham Court Road Chapel—are not of a very scorching description.

It is easy for a reader of the smallest experience to infer the nature of Dr. Campbell's theology. His anticipations of his own future fate are given in these words:—"Oh what incomparable content and satisfaction will our minds then take in themselves! With the tops of the content and satisfaction will our minds then take in themselves! nature of Dr. Campbell's theology. His anticipations of his own future fate are given in these words:—"Oh what incomparable content and satisfaction will our minds then take in themselyes! With what enravishing pleasure will they ever review their own motions," &c. And when he looked upon a large part of his neighbours, he contemplated their fate with due horror. He saw in London "a multitude sufficient to constitute by far the greatest city on the face of the globe, all posting down to death and hell as fast as time can carry them." He describes the tea-gardens of London as "innumerable synagogues of Satan." He admits with cheerfulness that it is not true that "none enter theatres who are not accomplished blackguards," but he denies to the frequenters of those unhallowed places the character of Christians. He tells them—and from his point of view the solemnity of his appeal is warrantable—that when they are dying they would feel it "an unpardonable insult, a cruel mockery of their woe, were a play to be read to them, or a comedy acted in their presence." The dislike to theatres is in character, and is not confined to Dr. Campbell's peculiar sect. Perhaps we may attribute to a sacred ignorance of all theatrical names and matters one curious statement made by his biographers. Shakspeare, they assure us, "speaking of newspapers," assures us that "they are the abstract and brief chranicles of the day, to show virtue her own features, scorn her own image, and the very age and body of the time his form and pressure." Certainly, Shakspeare must have been even more of a prophet than prolane playgoers imagined. We may suppose that Dr. Campbell was not a very great hand at a joke. The only piece of facetiousness which we have been able to discover in the volume is the following, which the authors describe as a "pleasant saying." Dr. Campbell was ordained a few days after his marriage; whereupon a gentleman humorously observed, "Mr. Campbell has now acquired the last pastoral qualification—he is the husband of one wife."

Men small and great may learn of Gyp A lesson worthy of record; She never let th' occasion slip— The time assign'd—to seek the Lord.

The bell for prayer had scarcely ceased
When lively Gyp came walking in,
And quiet lay the gentle beast,
While master talked of grace and sin.

And quiet lay the gentle beast,

While master talked of grace and sin.

And we possibly ought to refer to this habit the rather singular statement that when Dr. Campbell was on his deathbed he always spoke of dying as "going up stairs." The impropriety is here on the side of the biographers, who had better have abstained from reporting what makes a strangely incongruous effect in a part of their story which cannot but be solemn. They commit a graver, though doubtless an equally unconscious, breach of propriety in quoting an odd letter from Dr. Campbell to his second wife, to whom the book is dedicated. Dr. Campbell married at the age of sixty-nine, and writes to encourage his intended wife by precedents. He tells her that Mr. Jay's second wife married at fifty, and that Dr. Smith, "the famous and learned professor of Homerton College," married at sixty-nine the widow of a friend, and lived with her very happily for eight years. The defence is scarcely calculated to propitiate the readers of the biography, whatever may have been its effect upon the lady.

The attempts of the biographers to prove by specimens that Dr. Campbell possessed a colossal mind are scarcely more happy. They quote a few scraps of paragraphs contributed by him to some of the magazines of which he was editor. One specimen will be quite enough togive a guess at his merits. A criticism of Wordsworth is contained in a dozen lines. They inform us that the "established reputation" of that poet "will ever continue to embalm his memory"; also that the "productions of this great master of song

<sup>\*</sup> Life and Luborrs of John Campbell, D.D. By the Rev. R. Ferguson, Ll.D., and the Rev. A. Morton Brown, Ll.D. London: Richard Bentley.

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throw a delightful charm around objects in themselves insignificant and infantile." Moreover, that "pathos, purity, and piety were happily blended in the soul of the author of the 'Excursion,' and that genius, beauty, and religion were thus of necessity characteristic of his verse." If this was the kind of padding with which Dr. Campbell was in the habit of eking out the columns of the British Banner, we do not much wonder at the fact, recorded as something marvellous, that he could write a leading article on some occasions in two or three hours. It is obvious that the only limit to his speed would be the pace at which he could perform the mechanical operation of writing.

British Banner, we do not much wonder at the fact, recorded as something marvellous, that he could write a leading article on some occasions in two or three hours. It is obvious that the only limit to his speed would be the pace at which he could perform the mechanical operation of writing.

It is quite unnecessary to search further into Dr. Campbell's portrait as set forth by his biographers. He was for thirty-six years an energetic minister of a Dissenting chapel, and for twenty-one years a hard-working editor of two or three harmless religious periodicals of large circulation. It seems also that he showed a disinterested spirit in money matters, doing some considerable share of his editing as a labour of love. Also he did a good deal to break down the monopoly of selling bibles. When he retired in consequence of old age, he received warm testimonials. Lord Shaftesbury presided at a breakfast at which one of these testimonials was presented, and declared that Dr. Campbell's works, which he had received, should be an heirloom in his family. Any testimony of ours must come weakly after such praises. However, we are quite ready to declare our opinion that, so far as we can disentangle any characteristics from the dreary memoir in which his memory is embalmed, he seems to have been really a very excellent and hardworking man, in spite of the eccentricities almost inevitable in his position, and that he deserved a better fate than to fall into the hands of such very unreadable biographers.

#### EARLY HISTORY OF THE PRIMACY OF ARMAGH.

THIS is not a new book, but it has somehow or other come before us after the manner of new books, and we can only In before us after the manner of new books, and we can only suppose that it has by some means come instinctively in the wake of Dr. Brady or of some of his enemies. We leave this last point uncertain, as we really do not know which side in that controversy is likely to take most by the researches of Mr. King into the Irish ecclesiastical antiquities of still earlier times. The impression which the outside scholar is likely to carry away is one of increased wonder at the strangeness of all things Irish, and, above all, of all things pertaining to the Irish Church in all ages. Our astonishment begins with the title-page. Before we reach the stage of being puzzled at Coarbs and Erenachs, we are somewhat puzzled at Mr. King's own official description. He was in 1854—we trust he holds some higher post now—"Diocesan Curate, Armagh." Now what is a Diocesan Curate? Surely in Ireland, where there are so many shepherds to so few sheep, so many Bishops and Rectors to look after a whole Diocese. One has heard something—in times past at least—of Irish non-residence, and something—in times past at least—of Irish non-residence, cannot be set to look after a whole Diocese. One has heard something—in times past at least—of Irish non-residence, and something also of the extreme smallness of the ancient Irish dioceses; still a Diocesan Curate puzzles us. Can he be the Curate of the Cathedral in its probable character of a parish church? Anyhow we are satisfied from Mr. King's own researches that a Diocesan Curate must be a very modern officer in Ireland. For in the ancient Irish Church there were no dioceses, neither were there any Trish Church there were no dioceses, neither were there any Rectors or Vicars, officers whom a Curate seems to presuppose. It is some comfort that, if things are anomalous in Ireland now, they are at least not more anomalous than they were a thousand years back. It is strange, and not altogether decorous, that there should be two sets of Bishops, each claiming to be the spiritual descendants of the ancient Bishops of Ireland. But it is quite certain that neither class of disputants would be at all willing to change places with those primitive Bishops whom they both claim to represent. One has heard of the Abbot of Iona—or whatever the sacred island is to be called—who, mere presbyter as he was, yet exercised authority over Bishops. One has heard that the number of Irish Bishops, unusually large till quite recently, and larger again in medieval times, was in the days of Irish independence larger still. We had a general notion that in Ireland men were made Bishops as a tribute to their holiness or learning, without being therefore invested with anything of the sort of position which we are accustomed to attach to the episcopal learning, without being therefore invested with anything of the sort of position which we are accustomed to attach to the episcopal name in any other time or place. A Bishop, according to our general notion, is something like a King. The amount of actual political power held by different Kings varies infinitely. Still we expect a King to be, at any rate in point of form, the head of the political body within his kingdom. If, like the Kings of Sparta or some smaller Kings still, he is not this, we begin to doubt his right to be called a King at all. So with a Bishop. The amount of his authority may vary greatly in different times and places. He may be little more than the Chairman of a Presbytery; still in either case we expect him to be the head man in ecclesiastical matters within a certain territorial limit called his diocese. But a primitive Irish Bishop seems not to have been the head of anything. The rank of Bishop was seemingly conferred, as a theological degree might be, on any clergyman of distinguished virtue or tearning. But such episcopal rank gave him no territorial diocese,

no jurisdiction of any kind. As far as any functions went, he was a sort of ordaining-machine. He was literally an ordaining-machine, when Abbots, and others who had real authority, but who, as not being Bishops, could not ordain, kept a Bishop for the purpose of ordination, who was wholly under the Abbot's control. To cur ideas of a Bishop, as one necessarily having some sort of jurisdiction or pre-eminence, this seems very strange, but it is really very much the same as a layman keeping a chaplain. In the other case the layman keeps a presbyter to perform for his convenience, and in fact at his bidding, certain ecclesiatical rites which he cannot perform himself. In our Irish case the presbyter does exactly the same with a Bishop. The difference lies in our conception of the clergy as a distinct order, like an army, the superior officer having authority over the inferior, but neither of them having any authority over those who do not belong to the body at all. We recognise the Bishop as having, almost by the law of nature, a jurisdiction over the presbyter, while we do not recognise the presbyter as having any jurisdiction over the layman. But this is hardly the theory of the Two Swords. According to that theory, the lowest ecclesiastic has, within his own range, authority over the most exalted hayman. On the other hand, the layman, if he be in any position of authority, has, within his own range, authority over the most exalted ecclesiastic. For a layman to determine when, where, and on whom the Bishop shall administer the other sacrament of orders.

According to Mr. King, Diocesan Episcopacy and all that we

According to Mr. King, Diocesan Episcopacy and all that we commonly connect with it—territorial dioceses and parishes, Archbishops and Bishops with their several jurisdictions, parish priests with their territorial spheres of duty, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, payment of tithe, the whole system in short of the fully developed medieval Church—was quite unknown in primitive Irish times. All these things began to come in as Roman and English influence began to tell on the island, and were fully confirmed and established through the effects of the English Conquest. The great men of the old Irish Church were not Bishops, but Coarbs and Erenachs, somewhat mysterious officers, whose nature, and the origin of whose names, has given rise to much speculation and controversy. The mess is of course improved by those who go about to find Greek derivations for native Irish words, and who see in Erenach a corruption, sometimes of Erenavcha, sometimes of Archiciaconus. A Coarb is strictly a successor, a Caliph, the successor of some saint in his monastery—the Coarb, for example, of Patrick or of any smaller saint. He ought to have been an Abbot, the spiritual head of a religious body, but the office, or at least the emolumenta attached to the office, often got into the hands of laymen, and in many cases became hereditary. The same sort of thing has often happened in other countries. Giraldus, in an often quoted passage, complains of the Lay Abbots in Wales, and we have abundance of Lay Rectors among ourselves to this day. The way in which the great Abbeys of Gaul were held by laymen at very distant points of history is also well known. And we may add the secularized Bishoprics of North Germany. Everybody knows how the little Duke of York was made Bishop of Osnabrück, a see whose condition was made the more anomalous by the alternation of a real Bishop and a sham one. At Lübeck and elsewhere the Bishop and the other officers of the church were by no means abolished; only their offices, or rather the temporal emoluments of t

The whole thing, like most Irish things, is very puzzling and anomalous. We are satisfied that Mr. King understands all about it; but we are not satisfied that he has the power of making anybody else understand. We must confess, with all respect for his laborious researches, that his book is a very perplexing and wearisome one to read. He jumbles together narrative, comment, and reference, in a way which is fairly baffling. In a treatise which is to a great extent controversial, where the author goes about to show that the views of other people are wrong and that some other view is right, clearness and method are above all things essential. If they are lacking, one may even do something so awful as to confound the writer's views and those of his enemies. No doubt the physical form of Mr. King's book is against it. It is a thin folio, in small and close print, with all the illustrative quotations printed in the text, and going on for sixty-seven pages with no division greater than a paragraph. The cause of this extraordinary shape is that all this abstruse and minute examination of points of very remote history was first printed in weekly portions of four pages in a local paper, the Armagh Guardian. It was then put together with as little derangement of the type as possible. We suppose that the devotion to theological controversy which is so characteristic of the North of Ireland makes everybody take an interest in ecclesiastical history. We certainly can hardly fancy that the readers of an English country paper would relish

A Memoir introductory to the Early History of the Primacy of Armagh, &c. By Robert King, A.B. Second Edition. Armagh: John Thompson. 1854.

1867

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having an eighth of their reading—for to many people the local paper is their only reading—devoted to a feuilleton of so crabbed a nature. Happily Mr. King also gives one page of preface, which also contains a summary of his whole argument. It amounts pretty much to this:—No diocesan episcopacy, but Bishops the sole vehicle of ordination. No Archbisdop of Armagh till 1105—1134; before that Coarbs, who should have been presbyter-Abbots, who were sometimes incidentally Bishops, but more commonly laymen. The two conclusions which follow we will give in Mr. King's own words:—

in Mr. King's own words:—

That, as in the ecclesiastical government or appointments of this country, the Charch of Rome had in those ages no control nor voice whatsoever, so the charch-leads of Ireland never belonged to her jurisdiction while the natives retained their independence; but came under her power only very gradually, and by much struggling, as that independence was lost—and that in Ulster, where such independence was retained until the reign of the Protestant Sovereign James I., those lands had never come generally into the possession of the Church of Rome or her bishops in this province. Accordingly, his Grace the Lord Primate is the present representative of a succession which has always existed here from the days of St. Patrick to the present time, and the individuals belonging to which have in all cases been possessed of the chief dignity and the highest ecclesiastical jurisdiction recognised as existing in the place. But the circumstances of the office itself, and the arrangements relative to the mode of appointment to it, have greatly raied from time to time, during those I,400 years. While, for instance, from the days of Maolmogue O'Morgair downwards, all included in the series have been without exception metropolitan archbishops, before his time its members were but occasionally bishops, mostly it would seem presbyters, and several of them, as already stated, but laymen.

We confess that we do not quite see the force of the "ac-

members were but occasionally bishops, mostly it would seem presbyters, and several of them, as already stated, but laymen.

We confess that we do not quite see the force of the "accordingly." We should have inferred from Mr. King's facts that all Archbishops of Armagh, whether subject to the Pope or to the Crown, were intruding innovators upon the ancient jurisdiction of the Coarb. It might be a desirable piece of reform to get rid of the Coarb and to substitute an Archbishop; but it is distinctly patting one thing instead of another; we do not see how the Archbishop can be called the successor of the Coarb. But it is only here, in this very mild form, that any theological purpose peeps out in Mr. King's book. He naturally enjoys the pleasure of showing that other people have got wrong in their facts or in their inferences, and above all things in their Irish scholarship. But he does not seem to do any of these things with a view to the interests of Papists or Protestants. In fact his researches set before us a primitive Irish Church which, one would think, would be about equally unacceptable to Roman, Anglican, and Presbyterian. We cannot fancy any one of the Belfast factions shouing or breaking heads on behalf of the Coarb.

Not the least curious things in the book are the verdicts of juries—juries sometimes of "Clerks or Scholars"—in the time of James the First, when, after the occupation of Ulster, inquisitions were made into the tenure of the ancient Church lands. Some of their reports have a direct bearing on the controversy between Dr. Brady and the Archdeacon. We will quote two passages of the kind:—

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the kind:—

Moreover, the said jurors doe, uppon their oathes, say and present, that in every of the parsonages and viccarages within the said countie of Fermannagh (exceptinge such as are impropriated) the bushopp in whose dioces the said benefice shall be found void, did and might within the sixe monethes after the vacancie, collate to the benefice, beinge void, and that if the bushopp collated not within sixe monethes, that then the said collacion came to the archbushopp of that province, and that if the said archbushopp collated not within other sixe monethes, that then the said collacion, came to the pope; but the said jurors say, that they have heard that great Cocomagh Mc. Guire, grandfuther to Brian ege, now lyvinge, had all advousons, presentacions and rightes of patronage of all parsonages and viccarages with the said countie, untill the pope, by the general connect of Trent, took them from him; but the said jurors have not seen it in their time.

This is the presentment of a jury. The following is from a

This is the presentment of a jury. The following is from a letter from Montgomery, Bishop of Derry, to the Earl of Salisbury, in 1607 :--

in 1607:—

In the Counties of Monaghan and Fermanagh within the Dioces of Clogher, the whole possession of that Bishoprick have ever ben knowne by the name of Termon-land; of which Termons the Bishops of that See, as true landlords, have alwaies had the sole possession, placing, and displacing tenants, receiving their rents, their hospitiæ, with all fees, and services accruing due unto them out of ye, same, sometimes augmenting, sometymes dyminishing their rents, at their pleasure, as by a Register of 200 years which I have shewed doth appere. Yet divers gentlemen supposing those landes escheated to the Crowne by the Act of Dissolution, sought and obteyned patents of most of them from her late Majestie about the 34th yeare of her Raigne, at which time there being no Lawfull Bishops in those places, but such as being the Popes lead instruments worked in the countrie, and durst make no open challenge or exception; In which grauntes this cautionarie provise was inserted, that if the Patentees should not within 5 yeares build castles of defence on those landes, their patents should be atteitle voide, as now they are by non-performance of that condition, wherea they are by non-performance of that condition, wherea these Termons are also to pass, is sent over unto your lordships; in the end whereof my challenge unto these termons is set downe: which Termons if they be suffered to passe away from the church, the utter undoing of that Bishoprick, and the impoverishing of all parochiall Churches in those places might of necessitie enseu, for to my knowledge there is not annie the smallest glebe belonging either to parson or vicar which is not included in these Termons.

#### Termon land is thus defined:-

The land assigned, for the endowment of a Church, or monastic establishment, to its first founder, or patron saint, was called by the Irish its Termon, a name borrowed apparently from the Latin Terminus, a boundary. "Let the Termon of the sacred place have its marks around it," says an old Canon of the Irish Church, on this subject, in the Latin of which the word Terminus is used, where Termon occurs in the translation just given. The Termon land of a church was considered to have by right the privilege of Sanctuary, and to be free from any owing of rents or other exactions to temporal lords.

But that those lay lords did not allow them to continue free from such exactions and contributions, is clear from the Fauth Act of the Syned of Cashel, in 1172, which distinctly states that they were in the habit of levying them at regular and stated periods, as well as casually at other times.

#### THE PRETTY WIDOW.\*

THE PRETTY WIDOW.\*

THIS is a novel in which a story of passionate love is woven into a background composed of scenes of French provincial life. The strong human emotion in the centre contrasts well with the quiet and sober tints of its surroundings. It too frequently happens that a novel which aims at combining psychological interest with local colour shows traces of a painful amount of effort. Either the author is in the predicament of having the accessories all ready to hand, but no plot to link them together, or he is ready with the plot, and with the characters who are to elaborate it, but is quite at sea as to where to lay his scenes. The effect of this partial equipment for the task which he has undertaken is apparent in the incongruity of the result. Either the picture shows signs of having been forced into its frame, or the frame is ill-adapted to the picture. Graphic scenes of Eastern life, for example, oppress and throw into the shade the meagre specimens of European inspitities who do duty as hero and heroine; or, on the other hand, the masterly delineation of character extinguishes its pale and sketchy accessories. It is a merit of the work now before us that the central thread of interest in it is in thorough harmony with its surroundings. The psychological element and the picturesque element are neatly pieced together. No clumsy seaming is observable between that portion of the story which is evolved from the author's imagination and that portion which has its source in his observation and experience. The result is an artistic finish and a maintenance of equilibrium in the work which gratifies the reader's sense of fitness, and which in a first novel, as we take this to be, is an excellent sign.

The seene of the story is laid in a provincial town of Northern France, whither Peter Polyblank, a poverty-stricken usher, with an ungainly person and bashful manners, goes to seek employment as Professor in the Imperial College of St. Babylas. This serves as an introduction to the small cliques of the l

with a public beating.

The Professor's anxieties are increased by the arrival of a scap The Professor's anxieties are increased by the arrival of a scape-grace brother, who turns up one fine day at St. Babylas. By some strokes of good luck Joseph Polyblank acquires great fame as a surgeon, to the intense disgust of the local doctors, and is appointed medical adviser to the College, where his jovial disposition makes him highly popular. His popularity suddenly collapses when an operation on a lame beggar in whom St. Babylas took great interest ends in the hopeless mutilation of the wretched cripple. He is fortunate enough, however, to make a favourable impression on the heart of Madame Dubosq, the lady companion of the Baroness de Grandvilain, the proprietress of the Château of Longanna, not far from the town. As the Floreska of the Paris stage, Manon Dubois had charmed all hearts by her beauty and talent, and the old Baron de Grandvilain in particular. Six months after

\* The Pretty Wedow. A Novel. By C. H. Ross. 2 vols. London: Tinsley Brothers. 1867.

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marriage the old gentleman had the good taste to die, and leave her in possession of a yearly income of 100,000 francs. A widow at nineteen, the youthful Baroness lived in retirement on her domain, acting the part of Lady Bountiful in a pretty impulsive way among the villagers. Chance throws the much-tried Professor in her way. She had caught him trespassing on her grounds, and pitying his hard lot, had treated him with unexpected kindness. An invitation to the chateau is followed by a proposal to take a course of lessons in English, a kindly pretext for putting a little money in his pocket. Too slow at once to see through her motive, Polyblank commits the absurd blunder of falling in love with his fascinating patroness, and is simple enough to imagine that a cigarnoney in his pecket. Too slow at once to see through her motive, Polyblank commits the absurd blunder of falling in love with his fascinating patroness, and is simple enough to imagine that a cigarcase which the Baroness has worked with her pretty fingers is intended as a present for himself. He is rudely disenchanted on finding, on his next visit, a handsome young man on terms of peculiar intimacy with the Baroness. This is M. Raynal, a swindling adventurer, to whom the lady, ignorant of his real character, had long been attached. The approaching marriage is shortly afterwards announced to the gossiping world of St. Babylas, and is on the point of taking place when it is prevented in the nick of time by the sudden appearance of a lady whom M. Raynal had married in England. The blow is a stunning one for the bride elect, and when she recovers, it is to leave her French home, and reward the ex-Professor by making him the agent of her English estate. Whether his sterling virtues ever obtained for him a still higher place in her regard is left in some doubt. This reluctance to push consequences to an extreme may be rather disappointing, but it shows a moderation which is rare in novelists of the present day. There are two situations in the book which are treated by the author with real power. One is where Manon makes the discovery of the treachery of her lover. It is the day before the wedding when the letter is placed in her hands disclosing the dreadful fact that he has already a wife. Madame Dubosq is fussing over the details of the next day's arrangements, and to be tormented about such things at such a moment is more than Manon can bear:—

With semething of the leck of a hunted form the Percence turned excite.

Manon can bear :-

Manon can bear:—

With something of the look of a hunted fawn, the Baroness turned again and fled upwards towards the attica, and entering one which was used as a lumber room, closed the door, and flung herself against it panting, giddy, and bewildered. The midday sun lay hot upon the roof, and the close atmosphere of the room stifled her. She made her way through the scattered rubbish littering the floor, and, after a struggle, dragged open the heavy shutters, and let in some air. Over the weather-stained slates of the roof she could see a narrow strip of ragged moorland bounded by the bluegrey hills. Not a sound, not a sign of life. The village street was hot, dusty, and empty. Along the whole length of the arid white road stretching away to the right there was not a living creature to be seen. Manon leant against the window-sill, and with trembling fiagers spread out the crumpled letter. She read it once, and twice, and thrice, scarcely comprehending it. Her brain seemed in a whirl. Memory failed her, and every moment she was obliged to turn back again, and re-read what she had just read, to help her to understand what followed. Still she would not understand. It was all so unexpected, so astounding, so horrible. Presently it became a question with her as to who had written the letter. Had he himself? Had he done it to try her? Could it be a hoax? Was he after all going to marry her tomorrow, or was it all over? All over? Merciful Heavens! could it be possible that her happiness was to end thus? Was it possible that this piece of crumpled paper could contain so much misery? If it were really true, what was to become of her? What, indeed! She sought a solution in the white hot dusty silence before her, and her thoughts travelled over the housetops beyond the moorland, over the grey hills and far away. Once more she began to read the letter, and then with her chin resting on her hand she gazed intently down upon the courtyard stones below. The house and the street were very still, but there was a strange faint

against the wall and closed her eyes.

The sense of irony with which the external world and its familiar objects affect a mind stricken with anguish is very happily portrayed. The mute sympathy of her pet animals as she passes through the garden to meet her unworthy lover once more is as soothing as Madame Dubosq's inquiries about the sleeves of her figured silk are irritating. And the capacity of the mind to take in the details of passing objects in a moment of overwhelming excitement is indicated with a vividness which reminds one of some powerful touches in Les Misérables. The parting interview is graphically described, but spoilt, we think, by Manon's proposal to Raynal to take poison and die together. The author anticipates this criticism by reminding us that she had once been an actress, and as such may be supposed to have retained a taste for melodrama. Still, the retirement of Longanna, and her life of active charity, ought to have purged her mind of follies which weaken the interest that she otherwise inspires.

The closing scenes of Raynal's career provide our author with a second opportunity for exhibiting his powers of graphic narration.

The closing scenes of Raynal's career provide our author with a second opportunity for exhibiting his powers of graphic narration. The adventurer is at the end of his resources; and nothing remains but to escape from St. Babylas. But the stars in their courses light against him. He lingers on as if spellbound, until it is too late, and he is pounced upon by the officers of justice. The story of his arrest, almost within a stone's throw of the haven in which he had so nearly touched security and affluence, and the dreary journey to Calais, and the sensations of the captive on the road, are admirably described. We notice it as a good specimen of what may be called

legitimate sensationalism, as distinct from its coarse and vulgar counterfeit.

not often that one has to regret that a novel ends with a It is not often that one has to regret that a novel ends with a second volume. We give the author credit for his modesty, but in the present instance he might have very fairly availed himself of the regulation limits. The story would have gained by expansion. As it is, it produces the impression rather of an artistic study than of a complete and symmetrical work of art. The only other criticism which occurs to us is in reference to its title. The control of a proper if it is more than the individual name of the control of the other criticism which occurs to us is in reference to its title. The name of a novel, if it is more than the individual name of the hero or heroine, ought to strike the key-note of the work. We can hardly imagine a title more insipid and unmeaning, and, what is of more moment, one less calculated to do justice to its contents, than that which Mr. Ross has prefixed to his work.

#### CHRISTMAS BOOKS .- No. IV.

CHRISTMAS BOOKS.—No. IV.

IN AULBACH'S Female Characters of Goethe is not a new collection. But Messrs. Trübner have put out an English edition of this well-known gallery, with sketches of each of the heroines by Mr. G. H. Lewes. The volume is a noble one, and the plates have been either retouched or they have done their work well, and to all true worshippers of "the divine" poet this will be a household book. As works of art the illustrations always struck us as being unequal, and the Teutonic inability to understand a bathos or anti-climax is often oddly brought out in this Goethe Gallery. Goethe in the last print, as Orestes or Apollo, or somebody tremendously mythological, crowned by muse and hero, and vested in chiamys and laurel wreath, but terminating in buckled shoes, is somewhat characteristic of that mixture of the ultra-ideal and infra-real which runs through many of the drawings. Not that we are sure that Kaulbach, who is essentially a humourist, did not see the fun—we had almost said the absurdity—of some of Goethe's sentimentalism; and most certainly in the humourist, did not see the fun—we had almost said the absurdity
—of some of Goethe's sentimentalism; and most certainly in the
bread and butter scene, from the Werther, the artist must have
intended to poke some fun at the serious novelist. We very much
prefer the classical scenes to the domestic ones. If this volume
is to be taken as a Christmas book, it may almost rival the
Doré-Tennyson series. In some respects—that is, at his best
—Kaulbach is Doré's superior, at any rate in figure-drawing.
This volume takes a high place in the first class of gift-books.

We owe perhaps some apology to Mr. Keith Johnston for placing in this class his last contribution to exact science. In the Handy Royal Atlas (Blackwood)—an ugly title, by the way—he has given us in a portable form geography posted to the last discovery and the last revolution. And it is enough to name the author to bespeak popularity for any atlas which he publishes.

Original Designs in Wood-Carving (Longmans). We can find as little reason for placing this book on our list as we found in Mr. Keith Johnston's case, or in that of many others which at this "happy season" we receive. If a practical art can be learned by book rules, and if a student gains anything by being told to do his work gracefully, and to cut with truth and precision, he may learn much from this manual. Anyhow, we can testify that the examples are drawn with vigour and precision.

The Art of Wood-Carving (Virtue) is the very antithesis of the work just mentioned. Of the present work Mr. G. A. Rogers is the author, the well-known wood-carver, and to whom and whose father much of the English revival of the art is owing. And here we have, not original designs, but drawings of specimens of the best works of various periods. Mr. Rogers not only gives rules to pupils, but furnishes some interesting memoirs of famous carvers.

A set of photographs (Architectural Photographic Association) comprises many of the famous Rhine and Westphalian churches, such as Munster, Heisterbach, and Trèves.

In the same direction, but of a very different character, is Rambles in the Rhine Provinces (Murray), by Mr. Seddon, the architect. We have here photographs, coloured lithographs, and ordinary sketches on wood; and all connected with some very sensible "reading," in which the author shows as much skill with his pen as on his drawing-board. And his sketches, let us remark, are vigorous and lively, with good execution and feeling of architectural character equal to that of the learned amateur in art, Mr. Pettit.

The Women of the Gospels (Seeley and Jackson). This is a kind of Scripture Gallery, which in a somewhat unpleasant sense recalls many predecessors—not only the Goethe Gallery just mentioned, but—Women of Shakspeare, Byron Beauties, and Scott Heroines. In fact it is a set of photographs, very much reduced in size, of prints from the usual and well-known Raffaelles and Caraccis. We gladly welcome the fact that the religious school which Mr. Seeley's shop represents is beginning to see that there is something in religious pictures; but what will Mrs. Grundy say to a volume of Mr. Seeley's of which the frontispiece is a Raffaelle Madonna? What we say is that the volume does the publishers great credit.

\*\*Routledow's Coloured Serma Rank\*\*—This is a Jack and Gill and

Routledge's Coloured Scrap Book. This is a Jack and Gill and Lions' and Tigers' book; all gaudy, bright, and effective, and, in the infantine conception of art, much to the purpose.

The French—as in other things, so in science—have a knack which we have not. Since Buffon's days they have contrived to write scientific books in a poetical fashion, and with a certain bouquet, as it were, of sentiment and a kind of glitter and sparkle which is far above us. We feel this in looking over a translation

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of Michelet's The Bird (Nelson), which is graceful and airy in style, and is illustrated in quite the same spirit. It is a little fantastic, indeed it were well if M. Michelet had never been anything worse than fantastic; but still it fulfils the first, second, and cloying reading, we admit, but still nice reading; and it is quite the book for young ladies who have, or who are thought to have, ornithological tastes.

omithological tastes.

What we have said applies to L'Univers, Les Infiniment Grands and Les Infiniment Petits, by M. Pouchet (Paris: Hachette). This is science—and, as far as we can see, correct and sound seience—only it is presented in dithyrambic and lyric language. The writer traverses the whole Kosmos, from the nebulæ to tapeworms, and it need hardly be said does not lack variety. The volume is crowded with illustrations, many of which are of archæological value; some are interesting for historical, and most for scientific, purposes. A sprinkling of pale copies in fawn-coloured lithography, from Mr. Gould's sumptuous books, is not M. Pouchet's best feature. As a general compilation and survey of nature we do not remember an English rival to this interesting rolume.

La Terre, by M. Reglus (Hachette), is a large volume to which the same description applies. It is science of the graphic and pictorial kind, but appears to be written with vigour somewhat more chastened than M. Michelet's book. Indeed, were it not for occasional traces of fine writing, there is little that detracts from the severity and gravity of the Scientific Muse.

from the severity and gravity of the Scientific Muse.

Les Merveilles de la Nuit de Noël (Paris: Lévy) is a collection of Breton stories of a very fantastic, not to say grim, character. When we say that they are collected and redacted by Émile Souvestre, we have given a sufficient guarantee for the weird character of the legends. Tony Johannot, as illustrator, quite keeps step with the writer; and the result is a famous Christmas Book, but Christmas of the pagan legend and myth, Christmas all but ante-Christian. By the way, how is it that the fine binding, the gold and scarlet, purple and badger skins, of our Christmas Books are a British speciality? The French gift-books seldom get beyond the old-fashioned pretty-coloured paper covers.

get beyond the old-fashioned pretty-coloured paper covers.

The eyes of Argus, hands of Briareus, and the myriad-mindedness of Shakspeare, or whoever is the King and Emperor of thought, would be exhausted in the attempt to read, handle, and criticize the vast and multitudinous array of all these gift-books. We do not pretend to have read them, but there is a certain sense and innate feeling, which one acquires by long practice, which enables an expert in this sort of literature to get at the general character of a child's book without reading it. We are quite sure that we are not wrong in guessing that Prince Perrypets (Saunders and Otley) is a good child's book; and why? Because we meet with a sentence which announces as of the dramatis personæ "a man with three heads, a boy with six legs, a lady with a fish's mouth, and several others." This intimates a whole crowd and cycle of monsters and horribles which must be delightful. L. S. K., the illustrator, is sublimely grotesque, just funny enough and just awful enough to suggest that compromise between terror and broad-grinning which is in a child's way.

The Bear King (Griffith and Farran). This is a partnership work between Mr. Greenwood (the Lambeth Casual) and that strange rollicking genius, M. Ernest Grivet. In a "narrative confided to the marines" we look out for the most astounding and exaggerated fibs, and here we get them served out hot and hottest. And in M. Grivet we look for the most insolent exaggeration, and here we get it, not without a cynical and satirical snarl at human nature which in its way recalls Swift. The volume is more than amusing.

Stories from French History (Saunders and Otley). These are slight sketches of single scenes, such as the Baptism of Clovis, the Death of St. Louis, prettily and briefly told by A. M. Lushington.

When Divinity Professors give us Christmas Books, we may expect wonders. Professor Selwyn has certainly hit upon an academical innovation in availing himself of the enforced leisure of a sick-room to turn Enoch Arden into Latin hexameters. We have it published by Mr. Moxon, and it is clever, and as successful as any attempt can be to give a Latin dress to a poem which is very unsusceptible of classical treatment.

The British Workman and Band of Hope Review (Partridge) are periodicals remarkable, perhaps, for their good sense and good feeling, about which, as we have not read them, we know nothing, but certainly for bold and effective wood-cutting. Some of the blocks are by that excellent animal limner, Mr. Harrison Weir.

In the Darwinian struggle of nature in the development of Christmas Books, it seems that the photographic type is in these latter days certainly displacing the old and preparatory dispensation of illustrations by the Brothers Dalziel and their brethren. In Scotland, her Songs and Scenery—what a sibilant alliteration!—(A. W. Bennett) we have the usual collection of Burns's Songs, Jacobite Ballads, Border and Highland Minstrelsy, with small photographs for illustrations.

The Basis Own Book (Boutledge)—often commemorated, often

The Boy's Own Book (Routledge)—often commemorated, often praised. This is a new edition for the new year posted up to the last new game—and that last new game, not a very lively or romping one, seems to be Post Office Stamp Collecting; or

"Philately." Yes; Philately, a very pretty word, and clearly suggestive of Post Office stamps. As thus:—φίλος, friendly to, and ἀτέλεια, "the nearest equivalent traceable in classical lore to a modern postage-stamp"—which "nearest" seems to be a long way from the mark.

way from the mark.

Johnson said that it would require an Act of Parliament to compel people to read Shakspeare's somets—an observation which only showed the great doctor's uncritical faculty. But it would require more than a whole code to get people to read Bishop Ken's poetry. By a happy accident he wrote the celebrated Morning and Evening Hymns, which, had he not had a character and life which were in themselves better than fame, would have secured him immortality. But beyond this indirect value as marking a period in literary history, and as the precursor, perhaps the suggester, of Keble's popular volume, Bishop Ken's Christian Year is perfectly without merits. Mr. Pickering has published a handsome edition of this dull collection, adorned with Renaissance borders, which have some amount of congruity with the substance of the volume.

The De Imitatione as a Christmas Book! Thomes à Kennyis (if

with the substance of the volume.

The De Imitatione as a Christmas Book! Thomas à Kempis (if it was à Kempis and not Gerson) in white and gold—and in a sort of Louis XV. binding! Such is life! as cynics and moralists say. And this is what the Imitation comes to! A drawing-room book. And yet we cannot altogether find fault with à Kempis in this gorgeous array; for even the Bible itself has its festal attire and illumination, and all the arts of the scriptorium have been lavished on the first of Books; the Book. This is what justifies Macmillan's edition of the De Imitatione, which reaches us with some very beautiful borders of the Durer school, which are, we believe, printed in a Leipsic office. If this be so, our great typographers must look to their laurels, for this is a charming volume as to the mechanical execution.

There are certain things which Christmas must produce. They

we believe, pinted in a Leipsie once. It this is a charming volume as to the mechanical execution.

There are certain things which Christmas must produce. They are de régle. They are the social scenery of the holiday season; partly conventional, partly actual. We do not so much make up our minds to them, but they make up our minds to us. It would be as useless to rail against them, to question them, or even to give oneself any concern about them, as to go into the rationale or justification of the solar system, the British Constitution, or our own infallibility. They are there. We like them. They are part of our institutions. Were they—as, we fear, a good deal of them are—only the veriest rubbish and imposture and mere echoes of shadows and shadows of echoes conceivable (only that a good deal of it is inconceivable), still Christmas Numbers and Christmas Annuals would reappear. As it is, we have—and, as far as we can see, shall have—all the old year's old scraps done into an economical Saturday pie, an olla podrida of trencher-scrapings and dish-washings, a basket of literary broken victuals like those which club secretaries write to the newspapers about. And we have no particular objection to all this. The relish for such edibles only proves the strength of the public appetite. The Christmas kitchen-stuff would not be forthcoming were there not an insatiable demand for diluted stories and their genialities. That there is so much published argues the noble hunger and thirst of purchasers. Here is Mr. Dickens's No Thoroughfare (All the Year Round Office). Everybody has of course read it. We have not; and therefore our opinion is about as valuable as that of most of its readers; and being so valuable, we keep it to ourselves. And it is of the less importance as there have been about twenty of Mr. Dickens's Christmas stories, and it is not likely that this is worse or better than its predecessors. One sign of senescence Mr. Dickens has fallen into. Of late he has taken to journeymen—or, to speak more reverently, t

The Savage Club Papers (Tinsley). We have not the least notion what or who the Savage Club is. Are they a band of Mohawks? Are they Pagans or Barbarians, Jews or Turks, Infidels or Heretics, or mere sober commonplace Christians? Do they call themselves after Johnson's ne'er-do-well hero, the black-guard bastard of Lady Macclesfield? Is Savage a patronymic, or a moral name? Not knowing, we cannot say. The volume of the Club does not seem to be especially truculent; nor does the Club itself look like the club of Hercules, or any other bully. In fact, the Savage Club Papers consists of a collection of stories and verses of the usual magazine sort, advertised as the nucleus of a fund which is to be drawn on by artists of the future who, in the coming days, it is anticipated, will want aid. A brotherhood which writes for this mild and amiable purpose will very possibly command perpetuity.

Precisely opposite to these salvage men is the title and character of Kind Words which, wonder of wonders, reaches us without the address of a publisher. It is nothing more than the collection into a volume of a humble halfpenny Sunday-school miscellany, but there are some really fair woodcuts in it. And it is worth mentioning, if for nothing else, to show into what deep strata of publications something of good taste and much of good feeling has penetrated.

Barefooted Birdie (Saunders and Otley) is a pathetic story; and in Axel and other Poems (Longmans and Co.) Mr. Lockwood has tried to acclimatize the Swedish muse. In Longfellow's trans-

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lations from Tegner we recall the Northern star which perhaps has

lations from Tegner we recall the Northern star which perhaps has lighted the present translator on his path.

A Very Simple Story (Bentley), by Florence Montgomery, seems to be also a very pathetic one. It is illustrated by the Marchioness of Queensberry, who in this way is better employed than in writing misleading letters on Fenian matters. Lady Queensberry has a warm and kind heart, and these little sketches, deficient neither in pathos nor power, are more creditable than her ladyship's injudicious, because ostentatious, kindness to the families of the Manchester murderers. chester murderers.

#### NOTICE.

The publication of the SATURDAY REVIEW takes place on Saturday mornings, in time for the early trains, and copies may be obtained in the Country, through any News-agent, on the day of publication.

The Saturday Review is duly registered for transmission abroad.

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F. W. MANNADD

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Amount Assured.	Premiums Paid.	Bonus added to Policy.			
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1,000	80 0 0	40 0 0			
1,000	42 16 8	26 0 0			
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12 Ten Spoons	0 16		1 (	0 0	1	9 0	110 0
12 Tes Spoons 6 Egg Spoons, gilt bowls	0 10	0	0 15	2 0	0 1	9 0	0 13 6
2 Sauce Ladies	0 6	0	0 6	0 0			0 13 6
i Gravy Spoon		6	0 0		0 1	0 0	0 9 0
1 Gravy Spoon		4			0 1	0 0	0 11 0
2 Salt Spoons, gilt bowls	0 3		0	. 0	0	4 0	0 4 6
1 Mustard Spoon, gilt bowl	0 1	8	0 3	. 0	0	2 0	0 9 3
1 Pair of Sugar Tongs	0 2	6	0 3	3 6	0	3 6	0 4 0
Pair of Fish Carvers	1 4	0	1 10	0 (	11	0 0	1 10 0
1 Butter Knife	0 9	6	0 4	. 0	0	5 6	1 10 0
1 Soup Ladle	0 10		0 13	0 9	01	0 0	0 0 0
s coup Laure	0 10		0 1		0.1	0 0	0 17 0
1 Sugar Sifter	0 3	3	0 4		- 0	4 6	0 5 0
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